The Forum

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COMMON SCHOOLS IN THE LARGER CITIES.

A FREE state is bound to do more than preserve the public peace, and assure the individual citizen security of person and estate. So much is possible where there is little personal liberty, little outlet for the play of the nobler impulses, little opportunity for reaching general understandings or for expressing the common will. A democratic state exists for progress as well as security: its citizens are to have not only the right of police, but the yet higher right of opportunity. An organized society of freemen is bound to make the interest of every one the object of its solicitude, and must be expected to pursue policies which will move to higher living the whole mass of people for whom it stands; while it sets an example and, so far as its position and strength justify, lends a hand to human nature throughout the world.

The national life of the United States has been inspired by these principles; and it has been expressive of them in larger measure than any other national life in ancient or modern times. Religious and political experiences had established them, in some measure, in the hearts of the people who set up and fixed the character of our civic institutions. But the actual building of institutions in the New World did even more than persecutions in the Old World and transit over the sea to strengthen the character, to broaden the outlook, and to give direction to the thought and activities of our fathers. It is the contacts which fix the trend of life. Work trains the worker. Power to do is acquired by doing. Experience is truly the great teacher. It is with nations as with men. The first

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white settlers in America were in advance of their time ; but they were far from able to frame, upon a basis which could endure, a system of free government for millions of people with widely different traditions and ideals. If persecution by kings and prelates, by tyrants and zealots, sharpened the faith of men, and gave them the courage to go into the wilderness and undertake to set up government in the midst of savages, it was associations with other and different peoples, it was life on the frontier, with its hardy work, its delightful freedom, its ardent loves and greater hazards, its fresh thought and its unexpected aspirations, which qualified them to become the initiators of a plan for a new and free nation. Nothing could qualify men to become the finishers of such a plan.

This nation owes much to the English, to the English love of civil liberty, and to the sublime faith and undaunted heroism of English Puritanism ; it owes much to the Dutch, to their thrift in business, to their hospitality to science, and to the heroism which first established religious liberty in the world and opened the way for the toleration of adverse opinions everywhere ; and it owes much to people of other nationalities, to the infinite numbers who have come in the later, as well as to the few who came in the earlier, days. But it owes most to the influences which these different peoples have exerted upon each other. No people can become Americans, even by living in America, if they are to hold aloof from the crowd. The American character is a composite one, the result of our intermingling,—an intermingling which has been more complete upon this continent in the century just closing than anywhere else or ever before in the world.

What we call "the American spirit" is not an imaginary or fanciful thing. It is real. It is not only a trait of our national life : it is our leading national characteristic. It has not sprung from any one people, from any one place or time, or from any one event or influence. Some peoples have made larger contributions to it than others, not only because of their stronger faith and their firmer character, but because they have had deeper reservoirs of history and tradition to draw from. But the American spirit has come from the intermingling of many races. It has resulted from their relations with each other in free life. It has come out of their work, their sports, their religion, their education, their politics, their wars,—out of all the things which have made for common progress toward a place of first rank among the nations.

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The American spirit is made up of the best elements the nations have had to give. Of course, it has some blemishes. It is buoyant and perhaps arrogant; it is indifferent to threatening dangers, and confident in its spontaneity and power; it is logical, adaptable, and blunt; it is filled with kindness and sympathy, but also with heroism and aggressiveness; it dislikes awkwardness less than effeminacy; it loves fair play; it may be crude, perhaps at times vulgar; but it is at all times versatile and virile. Its impulses are generous, and its purposes are right; it hates war, and its patience is long-suffering; but, once aroused, it will defy the doctrinaires, deride the millionaires, knock down hesitating lawgivers like tenpins, throw diplomacy to the winds and tear forms into shreds, and will ride roughshod through traditions and over armies to accomplish its purpose. It has shown recently an unsuspected disposition to join with the forces of civilization and to push forward the organization of society throughout the world. In ways that could not be anticipated and which were hardly recognized when they came, it proves that the voice of a great self-governing people is, in fact, the voice of God.

All this is not national caprice: it is national character. It is an evolution. It has proceeded from innumerable causes; it has been years in unfolding; and the process is not yet complete. Inbreeding is responsible for our national qualities; and it is to be hoped that continued inbreeding will contribute yet more to their virility, while we foster the processes which contribute to their culture. The very solicitude we have had over the consequences of immigration has been the element which has gone further than any other to assure our security and to promote our progress. Nations as well as individuals owe something to heredity and the circumstances of birth; and our debt in that regard is inestimable. But nations as well as men must take one step at a time, must be alert and anxious, must gather strength by doing, must make new plans based upon added experience, must grow in wisdom, and must mellow and ripen in spirit if they would advance to honored places in the world; and they must be reënforced from within and without, physically, intellectually, and morally, if they would hold those places.

The instrument which has been the main dependence for training our people in the elements of citizenship is the common school. The common school, in the sense in which we use the term, is

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clearly an American product. The first Dutch settlers brought free schools : they were the product of the German Reformation and of the Dutch revolution against the horrors of Spanish rule in the Netherlands. But these were Dutch free schools : they were closely related to the Dutch Reformed Church ; but they had most of the elements of the American common schools. The seventeenth century could not produce the American common school of the nineteenth. There is no evidence whatever that, for more than fifty years after their settlement, the Pilgrims at Plymouth maintained schools of any kind. The Puritans at Massachusetts Bay established a college, and then a Latin school to fit for it. The Old Englanders educated their nobility in colleges and Latin schools ; but they had no common schools for the masses. The New Englanders started out on the same plan. Some New Englanders of the present generation deny this ; but they cannot support their denials with proofs. The most advanced of their historic students have ceased cutting their history on the bias. When in 1664 the English sent the expedition which touched at New England ports, received companies of New England militiamen, and then proceeded to overthrow the Dutch Government at New Amsterdam, the expedition overthrew, so far as it was able, the Dutch free schools. For more than a hundred years, and down to the Revolution, one of the principal bones of contention between the English royal governors and the plain Dutch people was the matter of free schools for all. The Crown was too much for the people. Columbia College was first established by the Crown to educate the aristocracy and to prevent the spread of republican and independent ideas among the people, which the Governor said were "already too common."

They had to fight out the Revolution in company, and build up the more perfect union together, before they began to see the desirability of a composite system of high schools and low schools for all. They had to advance to the middle of the present century, their numbers had to be much enlarged, and their apprehensions had to be stirred by dangers, before they got to the point of seeing that schools were not common unless they were free, and that the security of the Republic was to be found in the intermingling of the children in schools common to all. One step after another has been taken to remove any reasonable objection to the proceedings of these schools, to the end that their constituency and their influence might be universal. We have added one great feature after another

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that was not dreamed of in the beginning, until we have a system which maintains, under the common authority, and at the common cost, a free elementary school near every man's door, a good free high school in every considerable town, and a free college not far away.

No man can say truly that the common schools have not been effectual. In the rural districts, in the towns, and in the cities where the people can have their way about them, they have been the mortars in which raw and incongruent elements have been beaten into a citizenship which is free and at the same time safe. With exceptions, composed of the best and most adaptable of their race, very few foreigners who have come to us, no matter from what nation they have come, have had much of the appearance, the ways, or the feelings, of American citizens in their own lifetime. If they have lived by themselves and have held their children in association with none but others of their own class, even their children have been little more than foreigners sojourning in America. But the first generation which passes through our common schools takes on the appearance and acquires the feelings of American citizens, and is quite as likely as any other to take prominent place among the best we have.

It is the general belief that our system of free schools, in which all the elements of our population may be educated together, is essential to the stability of our system of government; and the difficulties in maintaining such a system are far greater in the larger cities than anywhere else. Indeed, it seems as though the difficulties are almost insurmountable in the great cities; while there really are no difficulties in the rural districts or the smaller towns.

The danger in the larger cities is that the elementary schools will be disowned by nearly all who, by any reasonable possibility, can afford to do so, and will become the schools of the poor alone. I say the elementary schools, because the secondary schools are, almost without exception, very excellent institutions, practically free from the difficulties which encompass the elementary schools. And my reference to the people who are liable to disown them is not directed to the people of much wealth who have lost the true American spirit through pampered and unnatural living, but to the great, thrifty, well-to-do, intelligent masses who form the body and substance of American society.

Let me try to point out the difficulties which, doubtless, we all

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understand very well. They arise (1) from the widely different conditions of life, which are extremely difficult to hold together in schools common to all; (2) from the large expenditures for them, and from the necessities of the unfortunate and the cupidity of the avaricious; (3) from the totally unscientific and inadequate system of management for such large interests; and (4) from the failure to meet the reasonable demands of patrons, and the utter inability of patrons to get their wrongs redressed. If you want to sum it all up in one word you can do it in the word "influence."

From a great cosmopolitan population there will be sure to come some children whose persons, clothing, or characters make them unfit associates for other children. The necessity for some reasonable classification in school, for some reasonable regulation of the life of the home, so that the child may not be a menace to other children, is apparent. If attempted at all, it is only in the most superficial manner, because the school authorities do not realize what should be done, or more likely because they know that, if they attempt it, they will burn their fingers and not be supported.

School buildings are frequently unhygienic, and, when crowded, become dangerous to health. The effect upon the more susceptible children is soon manifest. The intelligent mother is quick to see it, and not slow to understand it. But it would be as easy for her to make herself mayor of the city as to remedy the trouble. Yet the trouble is serious to her; for it practically denies her children their rights in the schools.

No indiscriminate allegations are made against the teachers of the city schools. As a class, they are worthy, industrious, and conscientious. The conditions under which they work make life hard. Ordinarily, it is mechanical and monotonous. It seldom rises above the commonplace. They are lectured to and kept under edicts and rules until the spirit breaks. Most of them would be glad to advance, and would advance, if there were opportunity and anything to inspire them; but such is not the case. With exceptions so rare that they do not count, the teachers in the elementary schools of all the greater American cities are tramping around in small circles which are very nearly on the same plane; and the schools do little more than mark time in endless routine.

The reasons may be quickly found. Influence instead of merit secures appointments and promotions. This may be denied; but no one accepts the denials. There are dark-lantern processes. There

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is, of course, a show of decency ; forms are complied with ; but the whole system, so far as it relates to the appointment and advancement of teachers, lacks genuine integrity, independence, and courage. The preparation of the greater number of city teachers has been inadequate ; and so they lack power, versatility, and adaptability. Diplomas and certificates pass unchallenged without much reference to what they stand for, when, no matter where they come from, they give little assurance of teaching-power. The pass examination at its best is a poor title to a teacher's place. The only test is quiet and enthusiasm in the school. In view of the many teachers who are weak, or worse, much supervision is imperative. But the supervision is commonly insufficient. And in any event it is idle to apply the true test to the teacher ; for, if found unfit by that standard, it cannot reconstruct her and it cannot remove her. If in danger of removal, no matter how deficient, the influences which are about her will become active, and the maudlin sentiment of the community will side with her. If the superintendent be too exact or too courageous, his official life will be made so disagreeable as to be not worth the having. In time, this sort of thing commonly subdues him ; and he becomes an accomplished compromiser with the trying conditions. If not, he deserves to be numbered with the martyrs and archangels ; and he soon gets his deserts. In any event, blessed be the man who, not being allowed to exercise his intelligence and maintain his consistency in an office, has the backbone to go out of it with his colors flying and in company with his self-respect.

To keep things in passable condition, iron-clad rules must be made for the control of all. These have to be adapted not to the best, but to the worst, of the teachers. The best have to comply with them, however ; and thereby they lose their freedom, elasticity, and self-respect. It is not expected that these rules will do much good : they are only expected to prevent harm. In preventing positive disgrace they also prevent progress. The effect is to keep the whole system at or below mediocrity.

Teachers combine to help themselves. Many teachers' organizations are meritorious ; but too often the effort is not so much toward self-improvement as to influence legislation and to control the board of education and the superintendents. They send committees to the Legislature, and to the working-men's assemblies on Sunday, to agitate not for principles, but for self-interests : they engage in municipal contests, and support this or that candidate for local office,

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in the hope of securing political influence of the most reprehensible kind upon the school system. They know the weaknesses and the political ambitions of the members of the board of education, and play upon them ; and, with the unlimited powers of the board, they are able to do it in ways which not only advance the interests of the "politician" teachers, but degrade all the rest and demoralize the whole system. With all this going on, there can be no pedagogical growth, no genuine educational spirit. Too much is done to help the ones who lack the qualities and the spirit to help themselves, if matters were upon the merit basis. It levels the whole system down to the plane of the weaker and less capable ones in the crowd ; it puts the best teachers in competition with the poorest upon conditions which are altogether unjust, and makes it almost impossible for them to advance ; and it discredits the whole system in the opinion of the public, who, as a general rule, are intensely interested in the schools, pay vast sums for their support, and are quite willing to put adequate authority in hands competent to insure their efficiency—only to doubt in the end whether their theories are right and whether the resultant system is worth all the effort and money it costs.

The individual parent has no redress. Parents, happily, know more about hygiene and about schools and teaching than they once did. The circumstances of living are improving. People are discriminating more conscientiously and intelligently than they were once able to do as to the education of their children. Let us take a case. A mother sees that her child is being impaired in health by life in the school, or that the instruction is confused and that there is no grasp, no enthusiasm, no reaching out. She goes to the school, as a mother should, to discover the cause of the trouble, and finds it in the circumstances of the building, the crowding of the pupils, or, possibly, in the personal qualities of the teacher. What can she do ? She may talk to the teacher, but it is idle ; for the teacher is powerless, and in any event is not allowed to talk too much. She may go to the principal, but that will not avail ; for he did not construct the building, and he cannot reconstruct it. He cannot provide more or better accommodations ; he did not appoint the teacher ; he cannot assign her to other duties to which she may be better adapted ; nor can he remove her for unfitness. From his point of view matters may not seem so serious as they appear to the mother. He may be disposed to help the teacher at any cost to

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the mother, on the ground that it is better policy to keep still and assume that everything is all right. In any event, the most that he can do is to refer her to the superintendent.

With a mother's love, and a courage born of it, she seeks the superintendent's office. The boy in the anteroom recognizes her: he has seen a great many like her before. He inquires as to her errand and where she lives, decides to which one of the supervisors she must be referred, and tells her to sit down and wait. In time, she sees the supervisor and tells her story. He knows all about it. He is an artist in this business. His business is to act as a buffer for the superintendent and the board and politely to repel this woman, or to doctor this trouble out of the way so that it will not become too malignant. Whatever he does, he makes very slender admissions to the mother. Any substantial satisfaction she may obtain here will have to be indicated by a minus sign. He would really be glad to help her if he could; but he does not, for he cannot. If she reaches the superintendent, she will find a man who is certainly no less kindly, no less of a gentleman, and no less of an artist, than the others in dealing with her. He knows a great deal more than she does about the schools, their good points, and their weak points. He is not going to tell her all he knows. If he should tell her, it would not only be worth hearing, but it would be worth printing even in the brief columns of a Sunday newspaper.

By this time she is probably ready to give up the chase. If not, she is passed along in a Chesterfieldian way to a committee of the board of education, which seldom meets and which, when it does gather itself together, assembles in an ethereal place where no ordinary mother could find it. If, perchance, she should find the committee, she would be told that she had made a mistake in the committee, or that only the board could do anything for her; and to carry the interests of her poor child into the august presence of the board of education would simply paralyze her. In the end, there is but one alternative: she must submit her child to the operations of this great machine, or must educate him otherwise and pay twice for it.

Whose fault is it? It is not the fault of any one. Practically all connected with the system—the teachers, the principals, the supervisors, the superintendent, the members of the board of education—mean well. They are all doing the best they can within the limitations and the influences under which they work, and according

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to their outlook and understanding of things. The trouble is with the system. The standards are not correct: the spirit is more commercial and political than pedagogical. This results from the fact, above all others, that the system of management is inadequate, confused, unscientific, and irresponsible.

It is imperative:

1. That boards be vested with the power of legislation and with no other power, and that individuals be charged with the duty of execution.

2. That the management of vast business interests be intrusted to business men, and the management of instruction to educationists.

3. That adequate authority and freedom of action be given to executive officers, and that they be protected in the discharge of their duties, so that they may accomplish what they are charged with; that responsibility shall be located, so that there can be no shuffling, so that grievances may be redressed, or that the officer who ought and refuses to redress them may be removed—by legal process if necessary.

4. That favoritism be eliminated from the appointment of teachers; that the test of proficiency be the power to draw out minds and arouse intellectual enthusiasm; that teachers be assigned to the work they can do best; that advancement be made on the ground of merit; that the worthy and the efficient be secure in their positions, and all others removed; and that these matters be determined by professional educationists, rather than by men seeking political preferment or who know nothing of methods of instruction or of the principles which must form the basis of any effective system of education.

The first impulse is to say that these propositions are impracticable. But they are not beyond the hope of attainment. They rest on scientific principles which must be observed, if the system is to be worthy of support, and the schools are to continue as *common* schools.

It is absurd to suppose that a board selected indiscriminately, with confused ideas of its powers, with a natural tendency to meddle with technical matters of which it knows very little, far removed from the people, and responsible to no higher authority than itself, should administer such vast interests satisfactorily. In several American cities the board of education is the custodian of more property, spends more money, appoints more people to positions,

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and determines more important questions independently, than the entire State Governments, with their legislative, executive, and judicial departments, in half of our States. In law and theory, they are part of a State system and responsible to State authority: in fact, they are independent and irresponsible, with no division of powers and no check upon authority. No Government ever did administer the affairs of millions of people wisely, ever did care for vast properties safely, ever did handle millions of money prudently, ever did protect the rights of every one, and advance to higher planes of efficiency and usefulness, where there was no direct accountability, where there was not an absolute separation between legislative and executive functions, where there were not checks and balances in government, some practical way of redressing individual grievances, and some reasonable hope of attaining or forcing the end for which the whole structure exists. No great enterprise, technical in every nerve and in every breath, ever did succeed where there were not more respect for expert opinions and more defined protection for technical authority than ordinarily show themselves in the school boards of our greater cities.

Some people seem to fear that teachers may be removed without reason. In any of the large school systems, none ever was. In small towns, people can get rid of teachers who cannot teach or who are an offence to well-bred children. But, in the great cities, the contention for permanency of tenure without regard to fitness has almost closed the door of escape. Right here is where the common-school system is being most severely strained. The duty of removing a teacher is not so pleasant that superintendents engage in it unnecessarily. One who cannot do it without the approval of a board never does it at all: he will do it only when he has undivided responsibility, and when a teacher who disgraces the system disgraces him.

It need not be feared that the men who manage the details of politics will not cheerfully accept a school organization which excludes political influence from its operation, if they must. They will accept it even more readily than some other people will; for they know more of the wrongs than some other people, and are quicker to recognize the propriety of such an arrangement. All they will want to know will be that the organization has real integrity about it; that one lot of politicians is not shut out while another has an underground wire into the citadel of power.

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Neither need it be imagined that the teachers will not readily respond. In the Capitol at Washington, or at Springfield, for example, there is a common understanding of the character of every man in Congress or in the Legislature. It may not rest upon anything very substantial; but it is almost unerring. So, in every school system, there is a common knowledge of the measure of integrity of officials and of the worth of teachers. It, too, is almost unerring. It can tell very quickly whether the system is being administered on the basis of merit or on that of influence. It will allow for some mistakes ; but it will not be fooled for long. If influence counts, the crowd will try to exert it : if nothing but merit counts, the whole system will become a beehive in activity, the removal of the drones will be upheld, the preferment of the true leaders will be accepted with genuine pleasure, and the spirit of the whole mass will rise with a bound.

There is no improper centralization of authority about these propositions. It is not undemocratic to make a scientific organization to secure the aims of democratic government. It is not undemocratic to direct that things which one can do better than ten shall be done by one rather than ten. It is not undemocratic to arrange matters so that if the highest interests of democratic society are bartered for pelf, either in the coin of the realm or in political or any other kind of capital, the one who barters may be quickly discovered. The school organization which is proposed for the greater American cities would be nearer to the people than the school organization which exists in those cities. It is the best kind of democratic policy to classify powers and recognize established principles ; to make sure that things shall be done by people who can do them, by people who must make records of their acts and do things in the daylight, to the end that all may stand upon a common footing, that the rights of each shall be secure, that opportunity may be open to all alike, and that democratic government may not be overthrown by its own incapacity.

I am sorry to be obliged to say it, but experience has abundantly shown that any advance to such a system of school management will have to come from outside of the schools : it is more than likely to have to be made in spite of the opposition of the schools. The school boards are jealous of prerogatives : the teachers are apprehensive. The people in charge of the schools will not agree and cannot agree upon any new move that is of much moment. The leaders

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of the intellectual life of the city will have to evolve a plan; and the masses will have to be educated to its support.

There has been no greater surprise to me in all the intellectual activities of this country than the common indifference to the system of appointments and promotions in the common schools. It is not so strange that the crowd should think little of the matter, or feel unable to effect a change; but that men and women of the most aggressive intelligence should have a spasm because a policeman is appointed at the instance of an alderman, or cry themselves hoarse because a boy is appointed to do up bundles, or foot up figures, or work a typewriter in a public office, in consideration of his having hustled around and got out the voters at a primary, or secured the delegates for a convention, and then should see nothing to arouse their ire in connection with the appointment and treatment of teachers in the public schools, is most astonishing. It simply pulverizes my credulousness, and halts the faith which I have been nourishing religiously for years in the whole matter of Civil Service reform.

But in this country great movements come frequently with a rush. The American people are able to govern. The people in the great cities are able to govern. They cherish the common school; and in ample time they will find a way to set up a system of administration which shall make the officers and teachers of the schools secure, which shall recognize fidelity, encourage competency, and give play to individuality, which shall advance the teaching-force in the esteem of the public while it energizes the work of the children, keeps them at such work as the normal child likes to do, and carries a new intellectual and industrial enthusiasm and a new moral power into the homes of the masses. A. S. Draper.

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THE CRISIS IN THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND.

"AD amussim Sanctæ Reformationis Nostræ, errores, corruptelas, et superstitiones olim hic grassantes, tyrannidemque Papalem merito et serio repudiavimus."
—*Extract from the Latin prayer with which Convocation is always opened.*

SAMUEL WILBERFORCE, the well-known Bishop of Oxford, described Ritualism not as development, but as decrepitude. Lord Halifax, the spokesman of the Catholic Revival, holds that the Church of England is more than a mushroom sect, sprung from the convulsions of the sixteenth century, and that Ritualism is the recovery of the faith in its fulness and beauty. How can such views be held together? The policy of comprehension may have mitigated the acuteness of controversy; but it bears within it the seeds of a vast disruption. Such a church can live only by the loyalty of its members to broad principles, which are the condition of its existence. And the very spirit of toleration may at times most effectively nurse disruption. The question of the hour in England is whether toleration has not gone too far, and the disruptive force become too strong.

The ideas of the Reformation, the Protestant formularies, the Bible Christianity, the severely simple ritual,—all these seem to the majority of the English laity the vital machinery of the Church, to which they cling with a more passionate devotion, now that they see fully the perils of the times. Will the Church, as we have known it, hold its own, or will the equally passionate devotion of a large section of the clergy—earnest, eager men, with earnest, eager supporters among the most influential classes—succeed in undoing the work of the Reformation and in transforming the doctrines and usages of the Church?

The issues raised go right to the heart of English social and religious life. They have, month by month, become more sharply defined. Obviously, they cannot be got rid of by the usual expedients of shelving and evasion.

The most startling feature of the present crisis has been its suddenness. To most people, it has come like a bolt from the blue.

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There have been recurrent waves of sentiment against the proceedings of the Extremists; and where the mischief has gone to outrageous lengths, in London and in the country, there have been persistent struggles keenly felt in the local atmosphere. But, taking a broad view, many would have said, a year ago, that the spirit which had made the Public Worship Act of 1874 possible was gone, not to return; that, at the present day, toleration and sympathy were extended to schools of religious thought nearly in proportion to their practical usefulness; and that the new type of High Churchmen, their devotion to social causes, and their helpful work among the poor, had struck a note in tune with the spirit of the age, which made most people forget extravagances in ritual and doctrine. There was a readier spirit of coöperation among religious bodies.

The last few years of the remarkable life of Cardinal Manning—in close touch, as he was, with social movements and with social workers of all creeds—seemed to point to a not remote period of reunion of the churches. All manner of thinkable and unthinkable "Concordats" were floating in the imaginations of Grindelwald Conferences. When discussion turned on the possible terms of reconciliation between the English Church and Rome itself, and the Archbishops, in their communications with Rome, seemed to be practically surrendering some of the essential points of the Prayer-Book, men were amused at the unwisdom of approaching Rome with the hope of recognition of Anglican Orders, or of finding golden bridges of reunion. There was a little malicious satisfaction when Lord Halifax had to digest his bluntly severe repulse. Though there were some hostile comments in quarters where theological points are thought out, the laity generally were neither alarmed nor aroused.

But the past twelve months have seen a tumultuous rise of militant protest against Ritualism, unknown hitherto to this generation. It is not merely a struggle between two sections of the clergy, or a rally of the self-preserving instincts of the laity: it is not the outcome, as some have tried to show, of the relentless hostility of the Dissenters. It has more the look of a national uprising of all who dread the claim of Sacerdotalism to control the lives of the people and to spread over English society an atmosphere wholly alien to the stubborn independence and the love of liberty which run in the very blood of Englishmen.

The people are up in their hundreds of thousands, and are in

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deadly earnest. At every by-election this question is made a supreme test: they have even passed a vote of "no confidence" in a Cabinet Minister who was not prepared to vote for the new Church Discipline Bill.

How has this been brought about? And what will be the end of the whole business?

Among subsidiary causes, small, isolated bonfires have been kept alight by Mr. Kensit's more or less wise demonstrations against illegal proceedings in certain churches, and by his public protests against the institution of Bishops of ritualistic proclivities. A wider conflagration has been kindled by Mr. Walsh's "Secret History of the Oxford Movement." This book was written, "at the request of an eminent dignitary of the Church of England" of broad and liberal views, with the object of opening the eyes of loyal Churchmen to what is going on.

The "secret workers are made to tell their story in their own words." The book is compact, coherent, telling. The simplicity and directness of the disclosures have produced a profound effect. And what is most striking is, that nothing has been attempted in the way of answer except vague and general denunciation.

Statements and disclosures like these quickly crystallize and direct public opinion. But what is indispensable, to push a big question out into the open and to make it a motive power, is a specific occasion with a leader to think out and formulate the issue.

The occasion arose last year when the Benefices Bill gave the Bishops increased powers to prevent improper persons from being presented to livings. If the parishioners were to be protected against having men of bad character thrust upon them, why should not men who persistently broke the law of the Church be barred out as well as men who broke other laws?

In the English Church, the congregation have no voice in choosing or in refusing the pastor. This makes it all the more essential that they should be protected. The bankrupt, the drunkard, the dissolute, the incompetent, are to be warned off. Why not the men who, having vowed to obey the law, have persistently broken it in what, after all, most concerns the every-day working of a church; viz., the doctrine and the form of services? If a man buys his living behind the scenes, if he is guilty of one shabby kind of fraud, with a view to secure a coveted position, he is to be frowned upon by the Bishop. Why, then, is no notice to be taken of the infinitely more

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serious fraud of professing the doctrines of the Reformation till he gets in, and the doctrines of the Council of Trent as soon as he is in? "Is there any ground upon which institution to a benefice in the Church of England ought to be refused stronger than that of perjury on the part of the clergyman?" In these words Sir William Harcourt gave the real impulse to the movement which has gained volume ever since. Is there any meaning in the laws under which the Established Church exists? Is there any church government, or are there any definite principles to which the clergy will be loyal; and is there the will or the power anywhere to enforce loyalty? Is there any possibility of keeping a church going on the basis of the enjoyment by certain individuals of position and pay under the guarantee of the state, when the essential conditions of any such guarantee are unfulfilled, and the terms of the contract are persistently evaded?

The line of thought thus initiated brought at once to the front issues over which millions had been brooding hopelessly for years. The laity were weary of protesting against revolutions in ritual which they were impotent to check: they were sick of hammering at the doors of bishops' palaces for remedies always refused.

The scene in the House in June, 1898, was significant of all that has come since. It was plain that Mr. Balfour, in sneering at Sir William Harcourt and in deprecating the discussion of such matters in the House, was out of touch with his own followers. The House of Commons represents, if you will, the prejudices and the fears of the country even more accurately than it does its positive demands. In the matter of religion, it represents—probably by an immense majority of Members—the broad, uncritical Protestant sentiment of the nation as a whole.

No Liberal leader has had more hostile critics on the Tory side than Sir William Harcourt. It was then and has been since a triumph of argument which went home. Sir William has thrown himself with all his might into the controversy. He has been brilliant, lucid, tenacious, irresistible in his history and in his law. He has brushed aside all attempts to evade the real question. And he has had the supreme satisfaction of driving the Bishops and Lord Salisbury and Mr. Arthur Balfour to admit that the present state of things cannot go on, and that something must be done. It has been a great performance; and any one who knows England knows why and how it is that at the monster meeting at the Albert Hall

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in January, and at hundreds of other demonstrations, the name of Harcourt has been received with boundless enthusiasm—and this among men and women who, in politics, have been his bitterest opponents.

The strength of the case made out lies in its simplicity. We have a National Church, Lay Control through Crown and Parliament, and a guaranteed uniformity of doctrine and practice in the Prayer-Book and Articles. No change can be made without the assent of the state. This was the settlement of the Reformation; it was re-affirmed, not set aside, in the reigns of Elizabeth and Charles II; and its lines have been made more, not less, definite by subsequent legislation. Again, every clergyman at his ordination solemnly binds himself to loyalty. The Bishops bind themselves also to see that the clergy are loyal; and they have power to make loyalty effective. Further, the supreme decision as to what this constitution of the National Church means in all its details vests in a civil court—the Privy Council.

The controversy seems likely to end, as it began, in questions of church government; but, like all close and keen controversies, the fight has centred round essential and fundamental topics. These have been two; viz., the substitution of the Roman Sacrifice of the Mass for the English Communion of the Lord's Supper, and the introduction of habitual auricular confession.

Cranmer wrote, in 1550:

"All the rest is branches and leaves, which may be topped and lopped in vain; but the real root is the doctrine of Transubstantiation and of the sacrifice and oblation of Christ made by the priest for the salvation of the quick and the dead. If the root is allowed to grow again, all the old errors and superstitions will come back and overshadow the land."

At the beginning of the Tractarian movement, Dr. Pusey suggested caution in handling Protestants,—if taught "without their suspecting, they might find themselves Catholics before they were aware." To-day, the leaders of the English Church Union boldly affirm that,

"apart from the glosses of Protestantism, there is nothing whatever in the authoritative documents of the Church of England which contains anything irreconcilable with the doctrines of the Church of Rome."

This is, of course, a restatement of Newman's view in "Tract 90,"—but then Newman went where he belonged.

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In his "Manual of Church History," Mr. Wakeman, whose perversions of Reformation events have been so fully exposed in "The Contemporary Review" by Mr. Horace Round, says that what they want is to put back the Church where it was when Edward VI began to reign. That means the Act of the Six Articles and Compulsory Transubstantiation and Compulsory Confession. The practical outcome of the movement, as seen in the last few years, leaves no doubt as to the sincerity and the thoroughness of the policy thus foreshadowed.

In a multitude of churches all over the country,—many of them in London, where Bishops Temple and Creighton have made laxity an episcopal duty,—the full ritual of the Roman Mass has been adopted in all its details.

The Mass, with all its accessories, corollaries, and assumptions, was not enough. The festival of Corpus Christi has been revived. The worship of the Virgin Mary, the invocation of saints, processional services with images, the Stations of the Cross, and many other devotions, including services as fantastic as the Eucharistic Celebration of the Finding of the True Cross, followed, perhaps naturally enough. And the Ritualists do not hide their light under a bushel. They have even issued a "Tourist's Ecclesiastical Guide," to enable all to find the ceremonies they may long for!

And the meaning of the whole has been eagerly emphasized by Cardinal Vaughan, who exults that "the very doctrines stamped in the Thirty-nine Articles as 'blasphemous fables and dangerous deceits' are now openly taught from a thousand pulpits within the Establishment."

If the Romanizers have set about their work with a full heart, there has also been a careful adaptation of means to ends. If they are eager to win the parents, they seem to be ten times more eager to appropriate the children. Manual after manual, training the mind to every Romish rite and practice, has been distributed in hundreds of thousands among young children. Where it seemed that resistance was unlikely, children have been regularly brought to watch the celebration of the Mass; and their eyes and ears have thus been trained to accept the sacrificial, as opposed to the communicating, view of the Sacrament.

In England many thousands of elementary schools—in country villages, the only schools available—are under the absolute control of the clergy. In a large number of such schools this compulsory

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attendance at "Children's Eucharists" has been substituted on certain days for the ordinary Bible and Catechism lesson in the school curriculum, and has led already, in some cases, to a demand, *on the part even of Churchmen and Conservatives*, for Board Schools as the only safeguard against Priest rule and proselytism.

But the one feature of the whole propaganda which has startled public feeling most is the systematic attempt to draw young children into the Confessional. Manuals of Confession have been brought to light this year for "little sinners of six and a half to seven years old," in which they are instructed: "You must tell the priest all the sins that you remember to have committed: God absolutely requires this." Those who have "wilfully concealed their sins in Confession" have been "very unhappy and tormented with remorse; and if they had died in that state, their souls would have been in the greatest danger of everlasting death."(!)

This phase of the Romanist revival was specially taken in hand by the secret Society of the Holy Cross. This society was responsible for the issue of the manual, "The Priest in Absolution,"—the fountain-head from which all these manuals for young and old have sprung. Archbishop Tait said in the House of Lords that

> "it is a disgrace to the Community that such a book should be circulated under the authority of clergymen of the Established Church. No right-minded man would allow such questions to be addressed to any member of his family; and, if he had reason to suppose that his family had been exposed to such an examination, it would be his duty to warn such a clergyman never to approach his house again."

Yet the well-known incumbent of St. Albans, the Rev. A. H. Mackonochie, said: "Its principles are those which govern, I believe, all confessors among ourselves."

The "Sacrament of Penance," with its secret and compulsory and habitual handing over of the soul and the conscience of the individual to a priest, as it is the most insidious, is also the most eagerly and assiduously used weapon of the Sacerdotalists. The most recent and startling illustration of the *modus operandi* has been the enticing of the boy Cavalier from the house of his father, a well-known Evangelical clergyman, by a comrade. This comrade first took him, unknown to his family, to ritualistic services, and then enticed him to confess to the incumbent, "Father" Bridge, who gave him, as a memento of his "first confession," a manual by Cardinal Manning. The decoy then enticed the lad to conceal himself

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with another Ritualist in Derbyshire, whence he was sent to a sort of training convent in Suffolk.

As to Confession, the Extremists have even less to rest upon than as regards other innovations. Unheard of in the Primitive Church, condemned in express terms by Chrysostom and Augustine, only legalized in the Roman Church in the thirteenth century, withdrawn formally in the first year of Edward VI by the repeal of the Act of the Six Articles, and absolutely disused in the English Church for three centuries, till its unhappy revival by Dr. Pusey and his friends, the system was further condemned by the Committee of Convocation in 1873 and by the Lambeth Conference of 1878. The English Church does not

> "enjoin or encourage the practice of habitual confession to a priest, or teach that such practice, or the being subject to the direction of a priest, is a condition of attaining to the highest spiritual life."

The Bishop of Southwell has pointed out that in 1552 private confession to a priest was expunged from the Prayer-Book, and the public Confession placed where it now is in the Communion Service, as the answer of the English Church to the Council of Trent in the previous year. The very word "confession" was stricken out of the Exhortation in the Communion Service; and in the Order for the Visitation of the Sick there is nothing to show that the voluntary Confession in that service is not made directly to God, as in the public service. And the minister in either case gives comfort to a troubled conscience "by the ministry of God's Word,"—not by a Roman power of his own to remit sins, but as declaring God's promise of forgiveness through faith in Jesus Christ.

Just as repugnant to the main current of English feeling for three centuries is the materialism of the so-called "Eucharistic Sacrifice." Like Confession, it is no part of the heritage of the Primitive Church, but a mediæval corruption only formally sanctioned in the thirteenth century. "My God is lying on yonder altar" formulates a theory which has been uniformly rejected by the great divines of the English Church, even by typical High Churchmen, till these days of extravagant outbidding of every item of Romish formularies. Not only the Prayer-Book and the records of authoritative opinion, but the instincts of English religious life stand for the opposite theory that there is no sacrifice but that of Christ once offered; that there is no presence of Christ in the Sacrament except

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in the heart of the faithful receiver ; and that there is no miraculous power in the priesthood to change the nature of bread and wine, any more than there is a vicarious power to absolve men from their sins. Both claims spring from the same desire for a complete and unwholesome ascendancy over mankind.

The extraordinary expansion of Ritualism is attributed by Sir William Harcourt to the neglect of their duty by the Bishops and to the exercise of their veto on prosecutions of the clergy. Even Sir Richard Webster says they have been "supine." In drawing part of the Report of the Royal Commission on Ecclesiastical Courts in 1883, the late Lord Chief Justice Coleridge said:

> "The active interference of the Bishops, to prevent the law of the land being enforced against those who have deliberately broken it, is as indefensible in theory as it is fast becoming intolerable in practice."

"Episcopus," writing recently to "The Times," in answer to this charge, asks plaintively, "Why have the laity not threatened action? Why did not Sir William Harcourt years ago denounce the law-breakers? Theirs is no recent misdoing." Sir William might retort that he had given the Bishops a fairly good lead in the debates on the Public Worship Bill in 1874. But, if it is seriously urged that Bishops must wait till they are driven, then it is clear that the "game of law and order is up": the Bishops cannot even be a law to themselves, much less to any one else.

But the Bishops labor under other suspicions. The growth of extravagances in London is notoriously due to the present Primate's loose handling of the Act of Uniformity. The Archbishop of York has boldly claimed to set aside the inelastic machinery of the Act and, "by an authority prior to all Acts of Parliament," to allow any services he thinks right.

Again, what wonder that lawlessness is rampant, when Bishops have repeatedly—without protest—taken part in services some details of which were visibly illegal? What is the use of the Bishop of Lincoln or the Bishop of London remonstrating, when they have themselves taken part in the Romanized Mass, with acolytes and thurifers, and so forth, and been themselves ceremonially censed in defiance of the law? Where is the force of their denouncing the worship of the Virgin Mary, the invocation of saints, the recognition of Purgatory in the celebration of requiem masses, and all the other illegalities, when they have, year by year, been instituting to

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benefices men with whose illegal doctrines and practices in these matters they were obviously quite familiar?

In England, where most churches are under private patronage, the proportion of appointments by the Episcopal Bench is not large. But in the last few years the existing Bishops have appointed 461 known Ritualists, whose total income is close on £120,000, and whose cure of souls includes nearly two millions!

The diocesan funds are largely under the control of the Bishops. It is stated that they have been distributed lavishly to just those churches where illegalities prevail. Thus, out of the £20,374 raised last year for the Bishop of London's Fund, £11,939 was given to the law-breaking churches, and £8,435 among the much more numerous law-abiding churches. In the diocese of Rochester, which embraces South London, it is even worse.

Again, how can we expect clergymen in sympathy with the Reformation to come out of the present type of theological colleges? They have, with two or three notable exceptions, all passed into the hands of Extremists—largely with the assent of the Bishops.

If the Bishops were in earnest in getting the right sort of clergy, they might be expected to check and supervise the course of reading for Holy Orders. But, on the contrary, from the lists of books presumably recommended or approved by the Bishops and their chaplains, it would seem that, in some dioceses, the future clergy are expected—practically compelled—to study works which imply, and in some cases insist on, belief in Purgatory, the intercession of saints, the "Eucharistic Sacrifice" for the living and the dead, the necessity of auricular confession,—in short, in the whole of what may be called the Romanizer's Catechism.

Some of the Bishops have stood out nobly, and have really tried their best to carry out their vow at consecration "to banish and drive away all erroneous and strange doctrine contrary to God's Word." One of this sound and courageous minority, Bishop Perowne of Worcester, speaking of the preparation of the young clergy in these colleges, says:

"Young candidates for Orders were saturated with the novel Tractarian doctrine of the Eucharist. They accepted without questioning the statements put before them. They read very little: they never read with open, unprejudiced minds. I asked one of them not long since what he had read; and the candid reply was, 'Pusey and extracts from Pusey.' 'Have you read nothing else?' 'No, nothing else.'"

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In the autumn, when the storm had fully broken upon them, the Bishops were forced to say something. At the Church Congress it was admitted by the Primate that, in some way or other, they must put a stop to existing evils, and that they meant to do it. Later on, the Archbishop's Visitation Charges pronounced more or less definitely the limits of doctrine and ceremony which the spiritual leaders of the Church would theoretically inculcate. While giving a fairly clear catalogue of illegalities, and a crushing analysis of the evil results of the Confessional, the Charges show, in more than one passage, the inroads of Ritualism. His admonitions remind one a little of the Corrupt Practices Act, the effect of which in its working has been that, while the wearing of a card in a canvasser's hat, or holding a committee meeting on forbidden premises, will vitiate an election, the wholesale corruption of a constituency is not seriously interfered with.

More storm-signals being out, the whole Episcopal Bench met, and came unanimously to a series of decisions which were shortly after announced by the Archbishop of York, in a tone of apology natural enough to all who know his views. He admits that

"the characteristic feature of the present attitude of the lay mind in the Church of England is suspicion and dislike of anything which appears to run counter to *that Protestant feeling in the country which is happily so strong.*"

The absolute prohibitions include the festivals of Corpus Christi (Transubstantiation) and of All Souls (Purgatory); ceremonial incense; reservation; distinctively Roman services, such as invocations of angels and of the Virgin Mary, or of departed saints, prayers for the dead, and communions without communicants; and compulsory confession under any circumstances, especially as preparation for the Communion or for Confirmation.

The Archbishop continues:

"But the supreme necessity of strict loyalty to the Prayer-Book is with regard to the celebration of the Holy Sacrament. The enrichment of the prescribed office from the liturgies of earlier ages or of other branches of the Church not only alarms the laity, but, in many of these interpolations, there are expressions of devotion and belief which are not within the range of theological thought allowed in the Church of England, and tend to the introduction of superstitious and extravagant acts of devotion alien to the teaching of the Church and enfeebling to the spiritual life of the worshippers."

Sir William Harcourt may well be excused for a touch of exultation, and for his amusing quotation from Mr. George Russell, that

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"we should have had none of these episcopal remonstrances, but for the indecent riotings of last spring."

Equally satisfactory to Sir William were the tardy pronouncement of Lord Salisbury, that it is the business of the Bishops to restrain lawlessness, and if they don't, "they ought to be punished," and Mr. Arthur Balfour's surrender at Bristol, where he announced, "We are all Protestants." (!)

But how about the rebels? How have they taken the transformation of their indulgent allies into frowning censors? Some critics might rudely say the Bishops have got back exactly the answer they deserved. They have shut their eyes, or openly assented, to unlawful expansions and perversions. What wonder if those they now admonish turn upon them? The Bishop of Bath and Wells, a timid, well-meaning man, who more than once has told the Ritualists they were "digging the grave of the Establishment," forbids reservation; when forthwith one of the recusant vicars announces a policy of "knuckle-dusters"; another vows that "a great deal of ignorance prevails among the Bishops"; while a third flatly refuses obedience, resigns an important living, and within a month is instituted by Bishop Creighton to an important London church! What will become of the unanimous policy and the collective control of the Bishops if this sort of thing repeats itself, and the rebels of one diocese are welcomed in another? What, indeed, when we find the Bishop of Lincoln, fresh from the Lambeth decisions, taking part in an illegal service at Paddington, merely stipulating that he personally shall not be censed?

But individual effervescences and inconsistencies are forgotten when we are faced by the formal organization of rebellion. First, more than two hundred exasperated incumbents met in Holborn and, in their contemptuous phrase, vowed "faithfully to disobey" their bishops. Then, on February 28, the delegates of the English Church Union, 600 or 700 strong, from all parts of the United Kingdom, adopted a "statement" formulating demands which are a direct challenge to the Crown, to the Episcopal Bench, to Parliament, and to the nation:—

The Church has been continuous; the obligations imposed upon her by her relation to the rest of the Catholic Church remain now what they have always been; the English Church was not marked off; no new religious body, not even a new civil establishment, was created in the sixteenth century (the word "Reformation" is dili-

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gently eschewed); "the doctrine, discipline, and ceremonial of the Church of England, *as they have at any time during the course of her history been prescribed by her, remain in force and operation except in such specific instances as they have been changed by her own authority*"; the right of the Crown and of Parliament to determine these matters is absolutely repudiated; the plain rights of the Church are not to be set aside "by an interpretation to which it is impossible for us to assent"; as for the Prayer-Book, omission does not mean prohibition, nor does disuse, "however long or continuous," exclude. And, finally, if the nation does not assent, "we are not prepared to sacrifice the rights and liberties of the Church to popular clamor and ignorant prejudice, nor to barter the principles of the Church for the sake either of Establishment or of Endowment."

Everything that stands in the way is ignored. The Prefaces to the Prayer-Book state that the practices and ceremonies of the pre-Reformation Church, which were omitted from the reformed liturgy, were "cut away and clean rejected" because they had "much blinded the people, and obscured the glory of God," and that "many things have been left out whereof some are untrue, some uncertain, some vain and superstitious." So much for the plea that "omission" does not mean "prohibition."

But Lord Halifax is eager to purge the "lawlessness" of his friends by the creation of a spiritual jurisdiction in ecclesiastical courts, with a final appeal only to the purely ecclesiastical "Synod"; and he officiously attributes to the Archbishops the intention not merely, as they have said, "to hear any matters brought before them," but, further, "to determine them *irrespective of the Privy Council.*" Here, again, it has been ignored that the Report of the Commission, out of which has sprung the Archbishops' Bill to create ecclesiastical courts, insists that the final court of appeal shall be, as now, a lay court, "it being the inalienable right of the laity to appeal in the last resort to the Crown."

The immediate motive is obviously to intimidate, overrule, and perhaps appropriate, the Bishops. Some critics even see, in the appointment (just made by the Archbishop) of Sir Arthur Charles as Dean of Arches, surrender, if not connivance. Sir Arthur has for years acted as the favorite advocate of the Ritualists in the courts. He is now apparently to sit, *by episcopal authority only*, as a court of first instance.

Whether they succeed with the Bishops or not, the broad inten-

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tion of this pronouncement is to force the game. Their case is that the Church of England has outgrown the narrow shibboleths of a temporary craze of iconoclastic eccentricity in the sixteenth century, has outlived the unthinkable and unhistorical restrictions of the Thirty-nine Articles, and is prepared to merge itself again in the collective spiritual life of the Catholic Church, the whole doctrinal and ceremonial evolution of which must be accepted on their hypothesis of Church authority.

The antiquated machinery of state control and civil jurisdiction, which has stood in the way of Catholic Revival and Catholic Reunion, must disappear. No wonder Lord Halifax has asked: "Is there a single instructed Christian who would not prefer Leo XIII to the Privy Council?"

These men have learned the lesson that rebellion is sometimes justified by success, and are eager to try their own hand at making history. But are they strong enough? Could the movement have spread and become a power but for Establishment? Power over their fellow-men, an almost irresponsible autocracy to work out their own dreams, vast endowments to use at their own pleasure, have at once given these men opportunities otherwise inconceivable of attainment, and have bred in them an intense passion for spiritual despotism which has done quite as much to bring things to their present pass as any belief in Tractarian principles or any enthusiasm for the "Catholic Revival."

The fervent leaders of this movement are almost pathetically sincere. The wisest, the most brilliant, the most interesting of them all, Canon Gore, in "The Contemporary Review" for April, apologizes for the wild and whirling words of the English Church Union, and then goes on, with characteristic loyalty and fearlessness, to state with infinitely more precision and effect their case for a free and self-governing church.

The true idea of the Church is that it should have spiritual authority over its members, a legislative power to determine their ideas, a judicial or disciplinary power to regulate their conduct,—the "power of the keys," in short. Without these functions the Church is paralyzed.

"For the lawyers trained for quite other purposes to be exercising [as in the Privy Council] the Church's right of spiritual judgment on matters of Christian doctrine and worship, seems, to many of us, an intolerable instance of misplaced authority, which it is our sacred duty not to admit."

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He must have a real power. "We are weary of debating societies—Church congresses and Diocesan conferences." He would constitute his legislative and judicial hierarchy on a representative basis; but such a system would inevitably become as autocratic a sacerdotalism as that of Rome. And Canon Gore admits himself that the only logical solution is Disestablishment,—a "free church in a free state,"—and that, if you retain Establishment, you must in the last resort give the Crown and Parliament a voice as to changes of doctrine or ritual. The whole is an interesting aspiration and nothing more, unless the Extreme High Church clergy decide to "go out" as the Free Church did in Scotland in 1843.

Should Disestablishment come, it is likely enough that the increase in the power of the laity, which would come with it, would not be favorable to the Ritualists. In Ireland, Disestablishment has meant not more, but less, freedom to "experimental" Sacerdotalism.

The immediate future may see much marching and countermarching, some stratagems and some intrigues. It is rumored that the Government will accept in some form a motion now on the Order-Book which would pledge them to withhold state patronage from members of the English Church Union who will not obey their Bishops and the law. That may carry conviction to some minds now deaf to every argument of Sir William Harcourt and the Church Association. On May 10 the Church Discipline Bill has first place. This Bill formulates the full Protestant demand for the expulsion of Romish practices, doctrines, and words ("Mass," etc.), and gives the laity freedom to prosecute by abolishing the Bishops' veto. It is not safe to prophesy; but, at the time of writing, the Bill has gained immense support in the great constituencies.[1] It has not merely the logic of the Reformation, but the logic of the ballot-box, behind it.

What will be the upshot of it all? This is not an age of bigotry or persecution. Any attempt to force obsolete ideas or dead restrictions on the minds and conduct of men would fail. It is rather a question of what ideas are really alive, and what is the relative force of the different groups of those who are really in earnest.

In the extremely interesting debate on Mr. Samuel Smith's amendment to the Address, on February 9, Lord Cranbourne urged that the High Church movement was the great religious movement of the day, as the Methodist and Evangelical revivals had been in

[1] The Bill was defeated on the second reading.—Ed.

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their time; while one of the most brilliant Liberal speakers in the House, Mr. Birrell, held that the Articles were as dead as the distinction between Sublapsarians and Supralapsarians, and that Parliament might pass what laws it liked to put down incense and reservation, but could not put down ideas held with force and fervor.

It may well be questioned, however, whether such speakers have attempted to measure all the forces which must contribute to the solution. It is, of course, of supreme interest that Radicals who wish to separate Church and State by Disestablishment, and who hold by the principle of free churches, are to that extent in sympathy with the Extremists who are rebelling against the Privy Council decisions. But the Radicals want Disestablishment to destroy Sacerdotalism; whereas Lord Halifax and his friends clearly regard Disestablishment as a possibly effective and necessary weapon to make Sacerdotalism irresistible. But the distrust or dislike of Priest rule is likely to be the determining factor which will rally men and women of all political views to the defence of principles instinctively held alike by the descendants of the Puritans and the descendants of the country gentlemen who held England against the Spanish Armada under Elizabeth, and who stood up for William III and the House of Hanover against the Stuarts. In these classes still reside the grit, the moral fibre, and the solid and self-reliant qualities which have made England great and free.

Newman, in a magnificent passage, dwells on

> "the National Religion of England in its length and breadth as above denominations, parties, and schools. 'Bible religion' is the best description of English Religion. It consists not in rites and creeds, but mainly in having the Bible read in church, in the family, and in private. The reiteration, in fixed course, in the services, of the words of inspired teachers under both covenants, and that in grand, majestic English, has been to our people a vast benefit. It has attuned their minds to religious thoughts and has given them a high moral standard, while it has made them comparatively careless of creed and catechism."

Such instincts, such traditions, such a direct and transparent relation to God and his Word, are and always will be incompatible with subservience to a priestly caste which claims to stand between man and God and between man and life.

FRANCIS ALLSTON CHANNING.

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THE VALUE OF PORTO RICO.

MUCH has been written of the resources of this little island, which so easily fell into our jurisdiction during the recent war, especially by people enthusiastic over their first glimpse of tropical nature, who had had neither previous tropical experience nor familiarity with the economic history of the other West Indian islands. Hence, much of what has been said has been the result of first impressions of the charming scenery, of the customs of the inhabitants, and of the products, which were novelties to the newly arrived North Americans. Porto Rico has been described as a "priceless gem," "an island of unlimited resources, teeming with mineral and agricultural possibilities," and "a grand field for American investment and development." Of the æsthetic beauties of the island and the superiority of its economic possibilities over the other West Indian islands, excepting Cuba, no one can be more appreciative than the writer. A calm conspectus, however, should show its commercial limitations as well as its resources.

First, it should be remembered that Porto Rico is a small place, having hardly one-twelfth the area of Cuba; and this fact alone limits its possibilities as a wealth-producing island. A glance at the physiography, which here, as elsewhere, determines the agricultural possibilities, will aid in understanding its capacity. Porto Rico is mountainous; nine-tenths of its area being composed of steep slopes, peaks, and ridges, which ordinarily would be considered unsuitable environment for man. Yet these mountains are exceptional, in that they are coated with a thick regolith (as geologists term the decaying superfice of the rocks), which is here of a rich and tenacious, clayey soil, permitting cultivation to the very mountain-tops. This soil is suitable for tropical upland products, such as the staple crops of coffee and tobacco, and provision products called *minores* in Porto Rico, such as yams, sweet potatoes, manioc, plantains, oranges, and other vegetable foods, which afford the peasantry an easy subsistence.

The Spaniards are essentially a mountain-loving race; and on

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this island, where soil tenaciously clings to the slopes and peaks, verticality is no obstruction to cultivation. The native Gibaros, by anatomical adaptation, can cling to these slopes and cultivate the soil with ease. Their feet—like those of the camel, modified to tread the desert sand—are adapted to this rough configuration and its almost impassable trails. An American prairie, or any considerable extent of level plain, would appear a miracle to these people, whose mountain habits are so marked and interesting that they are of never-ceasing interest to inhabitants of more level countries.

There are no vast plains in Porto Rico, such as are found in our country and in Cuba. It is true that around the coast and along some of the streamways there are alluvial plains of limited extent, which locally may be considered of large area. But these do not constitute one-tenth of the total. The whole island does not aggregate in area one-third of the great central sugar plain of Cuba. Any one of the many fertile prairie plains of our own country—the Black Prairies of Texas, for instance—exceeds the total area of Porto Rico some thirteen times. These topographic facts have an important bearing upon municipal development and communication, as will be shown later.

Porto Rico is a wet island. We hear of a wet season and a dry season, of a wet side and a dry side. But these terms are merely local relatives; and they convey no meaning to the American mind. Within the island there are considerable differences of precipitation. The larger mountainous portion, which constitutes nine-tenths of the island, is always much wetter than the coasts. The eastern end is not only wet, but literally saturated, the rainfall averaging 120 inches a year. To the westward this rainfall decreases less rapidly on the north side than on the south; hence, the former is called the rainy region, and the latter the arid. The island is bathed in nightly showers of mist. Language can hardly describe the dampness of these daily showers and nightly downpours, to say nothing of the atmosphere, which usually is heavily laden with moisture. The sun weeps and the stars drop tears upon Porto Rico; for often these showers make their appearance out of an almost cloudless sky. The south side of the island is commonly called dry; yet even there rain is excessive, judged by the American standard, although irrigation is a necessity for certain tropical crops which cannot live unless constantly watered. Upon this drier coast the roads are bogs and puddles for two-thirds of the year; and, in order to prevent the hoofs

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of horses from rotting from excessive moisture, it is necessary to build platforms for them to stand upon. Yet, with all its dampness, the air is pleasant and refreshing; and the sensation of sultriness, which accompanies the low barometer-waves in our own country, is never experienced.

The temperature of Porto Rico is agreeable; but the conditions of warmth and humidity are conducive to the growth of fungi and bacteria.

As the saying, "an ounce of prevention is worth a pound of cure," has not yet been incorporated into the otherwise rich stock of Spanish proverbs, the natives of the island are largely affected with tuberculosis and zymotic diseases, the possession of which does not bring pleasant contemplation to the American mind.

Porto Rico is sufficiently populated, as far as numbers are concerned. Its 3,600 square miles are inhabited by nearly 850,000 people,—an average exceeding 230 to the square mile. These people are acclimated natives, immune to tropical diseases and adapted to the island's conditions. Of the total population, 500,000 are practically illiterate. These people must of necessity be hewers of wood and drawers of water; and they will eagerly welcome any employment that their new political fellowship may bring them. They will supply all the labor that can be needed. To the trade and laboring classes the island offers few inducements. There are as good (or better) tailors, hatters, shoemakers, and barbers on the island as in our own country. In fact, one is overwhelmingly impressed by the vast amount of idle labor which, with money inducement, might be converted into a wealth-producing factor. The trade and laboring classes are not only skilful, but work cheaply.

Porto Rico does offer inducements, however, to intelligent agriculturists, or rather horticulturists,—scientific farmers who can utilize and direct native labor. The American farmer cannot give the Porto Rican many lessons in the culture of the three staple crops of cane, coffee, and tobacco; but the scientific horticulturist can greatly increase the quality and quantity of the fruit product. The only present opening in Porto Rico to the farmer of small capital is that of growing export fruits, such as oranges and bananas. Some people may find profit and pleasure in the culture of these; but, with the consumption limited, and Cuba as a prospective competitor in the industry, little more than $5,000,000 can be added to the annual product.

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There is no doubt that under the old *régime* the island attained the fullest possible development of the "ox-cart and wooden plough" civilization. Its forests were culled and almost destroyed, and its agricultural lands fully occupied; seed and product had deteriorated; and export plantation crops, such as were possible without the coöperation of the United States, were developed to their limit.

But the opportunity for future expansion of commerce is restricted. Possibilities in this line are limited in volume and have been developed almost to their capacity. More of the annual trade (which at no time exceeded $15,000,000 of imports and $15,000,000 of exports, or a total of $30,000,000) will be with this country instead of Spain; and thereby our commercial interests will, to a small extent, be benefited.

Porto Rico has but few natural resources other than agricultural ones. There are no mines worthy of serious consideration, and no minerals except a little iron. There are a few phosphate rocks and some guano-filled bat-caves, the substance of which should be applied to the island soils. There are hardly any wild lands awaiting virgin cultivation. Its once glorious mantle of forests has been almost destroyed. In fact, the cream of its resources has been skimmed for three hundred years by a shrewd people.

The island offers no opportunity to the boomer and builder of cities other than the suburban expansion of those already constructed. It has an abundance of towns. Some have suggested the building of a new American metropolis; but the configuration is such that no single city can subserve the island. The present cities are independent municipalities, each with its own small sphere of trade; all are commercially embargoed from one another by topographic barriers; and, owing to easy access by ocean steamers, they are in closer communication with the outer world than with each other. While the United States possesses but 1 mile of sea-coast for every 320 square miles of area, for every 10 square miles Porto Rico has 1 mile of sea-coast. This makes all parts readily accessible to the sea; and this accessibility will always negate the necessity of the establishment of any single commercial centre upon the island.

Porto Rico offers some few opportunities in mechanical development, principally in the line of improvement of transportation and sewage construction. Its cities are supplied with public buildings far more commodious and ornate than those possessed by most

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places of their size in America. Most of these towns are lighted by gas or electricity ; and many of them are well paved or macadamized. Water- and sewage-works are needed in most places ; but there is idle capital lying in the treasuries of many of the municipalities with which these can be built without necessarily giving Americans opportunity to invest in Porto Rican interest-bearing bonds.

While transportation and means of communication are sadly needed, the field is small. The railway system originally planned to encircle the island is but one-fourth completed ; but the franchise in equity belongs to the French company which was working under it when we took possession. The power of the system should be changed from steam generated by coal to electricity furnished by the unchained torrents of the island,—which would mean just that much less market for the products of our American mines. There should also be electric trolley-lines throughout the interior, and railways in the principal cities. Perhaps one-fifth of the mileage which now concentrates at Scollay Square, Boston, would suffice for the island.

The reader must not adjudge me a pessimist, nor conclude that no good can come from the acquisition of such an island, because scientific duty necessitates the presentation of these facts. There is another side to the question. Porto Rico has value which cannot be expressed in dollars, and charms which need not be measured by rates per cent. The American mind has not yet become so completely mercenary that it has no interest in the humane, the natural, and the æsthetic. We have given liberty to a people who never knew the meaning of the word : we have gained a tropical Riviera of our own which will offer winter rest, refreshment, and broadening of vision to thousands of our countrymen. We have rounded out our possessions with an at-home tropical garden, which, with its landscapes, scenery, customs, and products, will always be a source of pleasure and pride. Above all, we have accepted a challenge to our boasted enlightenment, and have secured an opportunity to experiment with our methods in the rehabilitation of a country despoiled by a people whom we have called barbaric.

The microcosm which has so suddenly and unexpectedly dropped into the responsibility of our jurisdiction, with its people, habits, customs, language, and products so entirely different from anything hitherto possessed by us, challenges every aspect of our so-called Yankee civilization, and dares the application of every art, science,

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industry, and administrative method by which we have made our own land great. The impoverished soils and deforested mountains of Porto Rico cry aloud for agricultural experimenters to apply the magic wand of chemistry, drainage, and irrigation, in order to rescue them from the waste and ruin of four centuries and to rehabilitate and transform the island into an agricultural and scenic paradise. Homes and communities implore the application of the sanitarian's hand, and beg outlets for their cesspools through modern sewers to the sea. Mountain summits, with indescribable charms of air and landscape, extend their peaks and arms in hospitable invitation to the invalid, who may there build sanitariums and homes in a clime ideal for its warmth and salubrity. The hut of the Gibaro and the palace of the Caballero are united in their appeal for domestic hygiene.

The intelligent engineer is demanded on every hand. Harbors say, "Dredge us, so that greater ships may come closer to the lands we guard." A thousand copious, rushing streams constantly cry, "Chain us, chain us! We have the energy to generate electricity sufficient to furnish all the power this island needs for its industrial economy. We can light cities, drive cars, cook food, hull coffee, and grind cane. Turn our waters on the arid fields, so that we may improve the production of this already productive islet. Bridge us, so that communication can be free. Lead us into the cities and the homes. Conduct us into fountains, baths, and sewers." A hundred villages, twenty-five thousand farms, a dozen cities, the foot-sore peon, the passing tourist and those who would reside there, call for good roads. The very stones of the hills, ledges, and brooks dare us to crack them into road-metal, the humblest and most potent factor of civilization. On every hand there is an appeal for the application of political science. The abolition of old and cumbersome laws is demanded, with the substitution of those having a basis of equality and justice. Public officials must learn that they are the servants, not the masters, of the people. The tariffs, which are now a double-acting barrier between the commerce of Porto Rico and its people, must go; banks are needed; the monetary system must be reformed; and public education must be made universal, free, and effective.

What higher investment, or more noble return, could America make or receive than the reward of giving these blessings to even so small an island as Porto Rico? Such would indeed be a noble justification of a war for humanity.

ROBERT T. HILL.

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INSURANCE OF PROPERTY AGAINST WAR RISKS.

As a general rule, our shrewd business men, our intelligent farmers, and our professional men insure their property which is exposed to fire risks. Now, these men know that all property in the United States is exposed to depreciation and loss from the risks of war, be the property hog products in Chicago, wheat in the wheat belt, realty in New York, or anything else that makes for national wealth. They know, too, that the chances of heavy loss from the effects of war are greater than those from fire, and that the cost of insurance against war risks is considerably less than that of insurance against fire. Yet they act—as their prototypes have always acted from the foundation of the Republic—as if these plain facts did not exist, or as if the comprehension of them were lacking.

Why such a curious assumption should be indulged in has never been satisfactorily explained. The reason for allowing ourselves this indulgence, if reason there be, is inconceivable to the mind of the ordinary seafaring man, when it is remembered that we are rather fond of securing the collection of dollars, that we pride ourselves on our hard common sense and broad views, and that this indulgence has cost us, during the life of the nation, many and many a million of dollars, not to mention many thousands of needlessly expended lives.

When the writer, in his youth, was serving in the curious craft of the day, that possessed the then four prime requisites of an American man-o'-war,—inability to sail, to steam, to fight, or to run away, —and when the navy existed simply and solely as an excuse for Navy Yard appropriations and for employing workmen to vote at elections, he was led into the error of supposing that our neglect of insurance against war risks was due to the fact that we had no business men possessed of business common sense. The hypothesis was, of course, untenable ; and the assumption of it cannot be excused even on the plea of the crudeness of the youthful mind. But, when the environment and sources of information in those days are considered, the supposition does not seem entirely unnatural.

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On one occasion information was sought from an English sublieutenant as to why his country made such large expenditures upon its navy, and was found in the statement, "Oh, Parliament wouldn't vote the Service two-pence halfpenny, nor would the Government allow it a half-crown, if they had their way; but the city men will have it. They've got to have their war insurance from the navy, you know."

That was clear. It was also clear that the property ashore and afloat belonging to our business men, like that of Englishmen, was exposed to war risks, to the same risks in kind, though perhaps in less degree,—perhaps greater, if war risks are invited by not insuring against them. Therefore, it is not so very surprising that, in the ignorance and intolerance of youth, I attributed our singular indifference to a plain business principle to lack of mental grasp on the part of our business men.

And, after all, this point of view would seem to be, even now, no more erroneous than the opinion of a very high authority upon our national and business affairs, who, when asked recently why war risks were not insured against in our country, said, "Because our business men practically control our national expenditures; and they prefer, as we all prefer, to cut down necessary expenses far below the point of true economy, and then, feeling that we have saved something, to proceed to lavish public money in worse than useless ways."

Though interesting, this statement, even if true, does not explain anything at all. Moreover, it cannot be accepted as definitely settling the question; since we must, at all hazards, preserve our faith in the acumen of our business men,—a faith that would be rudely shaken if we accepted the foregoing dictum. There is an explanation; there must be one; but what it is will probably always remain an inscrutable mystery to the lay mind. As a matter of fact, the underlying idea of providing a war insurance is slowly forging to the front. The movement is slow, at times even retrograde; but the general result is a progressive one. We are preparing both fixed and mobile defences to protect our property against war losses.

To be sure, we are, after our own peculiar manner, preparing these defences in the most illogical and, consequently, in the most expensive, way. The fixed and mobile defences, which should have the closest interrelations,—so close that no fortification should be planned until it had been determined what part of the defence was to be made by the navy, nor any ship designed until a clear idea had

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been formed as to the nature and extent of the support to be afforded by the army to the mobile defences,—have no relations whatever.

This is one of the natural results of our administration through independent departments and of our allowing each department to act as if it were the whole and only Government.

For example, the Navy Department has a little army of its own in the Marine Corps ; the Interior Department has one in the Indian Police ; and the War Department has one in the Army proper. The Treasury Department has three navies,—the Revenue Marine Navy, the Coast Survey Navy, and the Fish Commission Navy. The War Department has two,—the Engineer Navy and the Quartermaster Navy. The Navy Department has one in the Navy proper. Being a free and independent people, we decide to keep up half a dozen free and independent navies ; and, since no other country possesses half as many, the first view of this fact would seem to indicate that we are a very maritime nation. When the character of our navies is considered, however, this view must be considerably modified. Abroad, they are considered a most curious lot ; but we like them.

However stupidly and wastefully we may be going about the preparation of our defences, we are surely making progress ; and we have already made great improvements in material. Twenty-five years ago the average utility of our war material was twenty-five years behind that of the civilized world ; five years ago we were only five years behind ; and to-day we are probably not much more behind than that, albeit the arm in the hands of our infantry and cavalry does not admit of quick recharging, and, therefore, was obsolete in design long before we began its manufacture.

It is true that we shall stick to our favorite theory, that the possession of guns makes an army, the possession of ships with guns makes a navy, and the possession of both makes defences,—a theory lacking a basis of fact and common sense. But, since the late pseudo-war with a pitifully weak nation, we are beginning to feel that there may be something in the soldier's trade besides rallying round the flag, and are slowly becoming conscious of the fact that a seaman may have other functions than those which have been popularly attributed to him ; viz., hitching up his trousers, chewing tobacco, and dancing a hornpipe. We have even discovered that putting a heterogeneous lot of landsmen into naval uniforms does not make officers and seamen of them ; though, for political purposes, we prefer to assume that it does.

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When Capt. Mahan first defined sea-power for us, we naturally paid no attention to him, because the matter discussed had something to do with the sea, and was one which we did not understand and in which we took no interest. We never accept any new ideas upon things connected with war until they have been approved by foreign nations after we have first rejected them through lack of comprehension. The rapidity with which Mahan's teachings were accepted throughout the civilized world was a difficult puzzle to us; and we could not make out why there was so much foreign enthusiasm over some stuff a seaman had written about the sea. But, since there was no question about the acceptance of these teachings abroad, we, after our manner, closed in at the tail-end of the procession, and accepted them too, as far as acknowledging that sea-power was sea-power, and a good thing to have, but not to the extent of inducing us to take any real steps toward securing it.

However, a few ships were built—very creditable ships they are too, individually—that had absolutely no connection with the strategic necessities of this country; a few torpedo-boats were constructed having no relation to each other, to the existing condition of the coast they were to defend, or to anything in the heavens above or in the earth beneath or in the waters under the earth; and there were a few sporadic cases of shore fortifications.

No demonstration is needed to show that the most economical way to provide insurance against war losses is, first, to prepare ourselves for war in such a way that a possible enemy would find neither *prestige* nor profit in fighting us, and would, therefore, abstain from entering upon a war with us; and, second, so to prepare our military power that, if a war should come, our losses of property would be minimized.

It is apparent that both these desired results, deterrence and the minimizing of the losses, would be most nearly secured if we were always ready, with whatever sea-power we possessed, to strike the enemy quickly and to strike him hard, on the deep sea, or at some vulnerable points on his own coast.

It is also apparent that we could not so utilize our sea-power without risking great property losses, unless our own coasts were secured against cruiser-raiding operations, blockades, and bombardments by the enemy, in the absence of our fleet upon duty elsewhere.

Last summer's pitiful exhibition of baseless panic along the New England coast advertised to the world the fact, that any enterprising

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enemy of half our sea-power might find both *prestige* and profit in a war with us; for it was made plain that, through the agency of public panic created by the smoke of a couple of his cruisers, he could neutralize the power of our whole fleet by keeping it scattered along our coast-line, and could, therefore, keep his own fleet practically intact to carry out his own sweet will, while being absolutely free from any uneasiness in regard to his own coasts or lines of communication.

In a country like ours,—which has just decided by national legislation that a sea officer is worth to it only 85 per cent of the value of a shore officer,—there is almost no prospect that an economical use of sea-power will ever be attempted; for that would require a fleet constructed upon the lines of a reasonable policy: and we have no policy. Still, the case is not entirely hopeless. A quarter-century ago there was no prospect that our flag would ever fly from the staff of a vessel resembling even remotely a real man-o'-war; yet to-day it is flying aboard several ships that no country need be ashamed of. And so, with the help of a little unreasonable but quite natural optimism, it seems possible that some time in the future we may secure the chief strategic points and wealth-centres of our coasts by shore and torpedo-boat defences, and thus be able to utilize as a real war preventive the small fleet we have.

We have already shown some evidences that, in a vague kind of way, we are beginning to grasp the idea, that fixed defences to prevent the free entrance to our ports by a hostile force, may be economically desirable. But our extreme non-maritimeness (if I may coin a word) prevents us from seeing that the blockade of a port would be almost as serious financially as its capture and ransom; that the use of a battleship to do a torpedo-boat's work in the mobile defences is a most expensive manner of procedure.

At present, while we offer a possible enemy an inducement to make war, by showing him how he can neutralize the effect of all our battleships by the use of a cruiser or two, we carefully abstain from preparing to utilize our own torpedo-boats within their narrow (but, to us, most important) field of work, to neutralize the operations of his battleships; and this condition will obtain until we provide a real torpedo-boat service organized on lines plainly defined by the strategic necessities of our coasts.

As has been stated, we have built a few torpedo-boats. We are building a few more, apparently not for service, but for the purpose

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of giving contracts and practice to our boat-builders ; since the boats are of all shapes and sizes, and the few completed ones are not being used to develop a torpedo-boat service or, in fact, for any purpose whatever. But really we have a good excuse. We were very much frightened last summer by three Spanish torpedo-craft ; but when Spanish lack of enterprise prevented their use against us, and when, moreover, the Spaniards took a couple of them out in daylight, in face of the fire of a strong fleet, to certain destruction, and even then made no attempt to utilize their real power of attack, we were so relieved that our joy took the form of assuring ourselves that we had not been scared at all, that torpedo-boats were useless, that we would never use ours again, and that there were no good torpedo-boats in the world.

Our normal composure will be regained after a time ; and then we shall be in a condition to accept the well-known fact, that three fairly good, fairly well handled torpedo-boats can, on a moonless night, force the best battleship in the world off her blockading station, or put her *hors de combat.* We may even appreciate the fact that submarine torpedo-boats furnish more insurance against war losses per dollar expended in insurance than any other form of defence at present known.

This proposition might be highly absurd, if it included any idea that we should take the lead in developing a new kind of war material ; but it does not. France is already providing herself with submarine boats ; and it would seem possible that we might at once copy her instead of waiting till all the rest of the world had adopted the idea, especially as we have already gone through our usual preliminary process of rejecting this war device,—a device developed in our own country by private enterprise, and one of the greatest value to a country situated like our own in regard to the necessities of coast defence.

Fifteen years ago a private citizen of this country led the world in successful submarine boat designing and experience. It was clear that, for a weak naval Power like the United States, practicable submarine boats would be of the greatest economic use ; since an inexpensive boat, with a small crew, could move up to a battleship, by day or by night, in face of her fire and searchlights, and could force her to leave her blockading station or could sink her. In other words, in the presence of defensive submarine torpedo-boats, blockades could not exist, nor could bombardments be attempted. It was also clear that the development of submarine torpedo-boats presented fewer

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difficulties than did that of surface torpedo-boats. It was clear, too, that we had it in our power to take advantage of the great change in naval methods that must follow the appearance of submarine boats, —to lead the world, in fact, for our economical advantage, instead of following, and paying the cost of our slowness.

The Submarine Boat idea was fumbled with a bit, and then practically dropped, just as was the Magazine-Gun idea a third of a century ago. In the case of the gun we proved its utility in the War of the Rebellion ; and then, instead of developing it, we dropped it altogether, and delightedly adopted an obsolete single-loader.

In the case of the submarine boat, as I have said, we dallied with the idea, brought into play our ever-effective way of how not to do it, by exercising the seesaw between the legislative and executive branches of the Government, and then practically dropped the matter. Meanwhile, France, appreciating what submarines meant to her, and failing to get good results along her experimental line of development, seized on the general principles of the American design, declared in her leading technical journal that it was the first submarine boat constructed on rational data, and applied its principles, so far as they were publicly known, to the submarine flotilla she was then constructing.

The more valuable and practicable features of the American design are still held in this country ; and it will be amusing to observe whether we utilize them or not. It will be interesting to note whether we accept the device that can most economically strengthen our weak defences and give us most war insurance at least cost, or whether, being still joined to our idols of indifference, we let it alone.

W. W. KIMBALL.

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THE STRUGGLE FOR COMMERCIAL EMPIRE.

THE recent appearance of the Russian Government as a possible borrower in the New York money market is a trifling financial incident in itself; but it is an indication of the change which has come over the economic condition of the world within the last few years. It shows that the United States is approaching the position of a creditor nation, able to lend its surplus capital to debtor nations; and it affords a hint of the earnest effort which Russia is making to develop her internal economic life in order to put herself abreast of other industrial countries.

The civilized nations of the world are entering a contest for financial and commercial supremacy upon a grander scale than any in the past, and upon a field which is being rapidly extended over the decadent and undeveloped nations. The contests for commercial supremacy down to the beginning of the present century were mainly between hand-workers, in which even the most successful nation did not increase by a large percentage its direct productive power, as has been the case within the present century by the application of steam and electricity to nearly all forms of production and transportation. The beginning of the nineteenth century witnessed the first really great savings of capital over and above the demands of current consumption. The progress of the century witnessed the gradual equipment of a few highly civilized nations with the machinery of production and exchange. This process of equipment was substantially completed in 1873, with which year the long period of depression set in which some have ascribed, by a natural error, to changes in the monetary medium of exchange. The fact, that this change in regard to the standard monetary metal—whatever the academic merits of the controversy between Bimetallism and the Single Standard—was only an incident in modern economic development, is now gradually dawning upon thoughtful minds, and revealing the true cause of existing conditions; viz., the over-equipment of the great industrial nations with the machinery of production and with surplus capital, and the need for new markets and new

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fields of investment. Society, in the long run, instinctively acts along the lines of natural development; and even before economists discerned clearly the real cause of the long period of depression, the European nations were reaching out their commerce and political power in order to secure new outlets for their over-production of finished goods and for their great accumulations of capital. In these respects, the United States has been gradually attaining the condition of the industrial nations of Europe. Our turn has come to participate in the struggle for foreign markets; and, apparently as the result of an accident in Havana harbor, the path of destiny has been suddenly opened for us in the East.

Accidents are only the ripening of opportunity. It has been by no series of accidents, not even by the thirst for military grandeur apart from its economic results, that the great civilized states have been expanding their spheres of influence in all quarters of the world. It was an economic necessity which precipitated the British occupation of Egypt; and it was the pressure of surplus capital which led to the opening up of "the Dark Continent" and made its map a checker-board of English, French, German, Belgian, Italian, and Portuguese dependencies. The impending partition of China—already well under way by Russia, France, Germany, and Great Britain—is another phase of the same great movement; and the occupation of Cuba and the Philippines by the United States only marks the entry of the latter into the contest for financial and commercial supremacy. Great Britain has always had her Anti-Imperialists; and the French fleet in 1882 withdrew from before Alexandria, and left the British to save Egypt to civilization. But the inexorable progress of economic tendencies has made expansion the inevitable policy of states which would survive in the future. Mr. Benjamin Kidd has admirably expressed the situation in his recent monograph, "The Control of the Tropics":

> "It is probably true, however strange it may appear to say so, that, at the present day, the far-reaching effects of the part which the English-speaking peoples are probably destined to play in the future, are not so much thought of, or even so clearly perceived, either in England or in America, as they are by some of the more far-seeing minds in France and Germany. It is to this cause that we may trace a very pronounced tendency of which the effects have been very distinctly felt in England of late years. More than one of these thinkers, perceiving the vast future consequences of that expansion of the English-speaking peoples, towards which the entire drift of policy and events amongst these peoples for the last two hundred years has tended, has become convinced also that it is necessary that his own nation should embark,

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before it is too late, in a policy of expansion. More clearly than either in England or in America is it perceived that, as the result of existing developments, the world outside of Europe tends in the future to be controlled in the main by only two sets of forces, those which proceed from the peoples who speak English, and those which proceed from the peoples who speak Russian. The temperate regions, it is seen, have already been occupied. But there remain the tropics."

One of the most striking phenomena of the new economic conditions is the rapidity with which capitalization proceeds, when once a country has entered, to any considerable extent, upon the career of machine production. This has been illustrated in a remarkable manner by the history of Germany and Russia during the last twenty-five years. In 1870, Germany was a comparatively poor country. It was not merely the direct transfer of $1,000,000,000 in credits from France, by way of a war indemnity, which enriched her, but the stimulus which this event gave to her industrial development. Speculation ran riot for a time, as in most countries which have just entered upon an industrial career; but the result has been an enormous manufacturing development at home and the accumulation of capital which has permitted large investments abroad. The estimated wealth of Germany in negotiable securities in 1895 was $18,000,000,000; and she ranked second among European nations. The number of banks reporting in 1883 to the Imperial Government was 119, with a capital of 1,248,700,000 marks, and reserves of 174,400,000 marks; or a total equalling, say, $340,000,000. The number reporting in 1897 had increased, in spite of numerous consolidations, to 150, with a capital of 2,163,500,000 marks, and reserves of 461,200,000 marks; making a total equivalent to about $630,000,000. The capital of the 11 large Berlin banks, exclusive of the Imperial Bank, increased from 586,000,000 marks, at the close of 1896, to 844,000,000 marks ($200,000,000) in 1898.

These German banks, with the large capital at their command derived from the proceeds of German industry during the last twenty-five years, are reaching out in all directions at home, and as the competitors of British and French capital abroad. At home, large amounts are being absorbed for lighting-plants, and sewage and water systems. Town and provincial loans, which amounted in 1894 to $25,000,000, rose in 1897 to $47,000,000, and in the first half of 1898 to $26,000,000. New industrial joint-stock companies, whose shares were issued during 1894 to the amount of only $23,000,000, increased their issues in 1895 to $58,000,000; in 1897 to $70,000,000;

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and for the first half of 1898 to $65,000,000. It is estimated that in Germany alone the electrical industry, including city and suburban railways, absorbs about $75,000,000 of German capital annually, and that about $50,000,000 is invested annually in electrical undertakings in foreign countries. The year 1897 witnessed the construction of 452 miles of electric lines in Germany, France, Austria, Italy, and England, of which Germany built more than two-thirds.

German capital seeking investment has been so plentiful that it was tempted by the low prices of Spanish securities during the war with the United States ; and from July to the autumn there was an increase in such securities held in Germany from 50,000,000 pesetas to 150,000,000 pesetas ($29,000,000). The amount of Russian loans held in Germany is computed at $370,000,000. German enterprise and German capital are confronting British and French investors in banks and industrial enterprises in Latin America, in Africa, and in Asia. The December number of the London "Bankers' Magazine," in a review of the financial history of 1898, declared :

> "Among the poorer countries, or the countries in which, though capital may have existed, it was not in a form available for immediate use, like the less settled parts of Europe and Asia Minor and the further East, the aid of English capital usually used to be invoked. But we now find things managed differently ; other sources are open to those who engage in such undertakings, and great railways are established through the interposition of German banks. Some ten years since the Deutsche Bank took over the Société du Chemin de Fer Ottoman d'Anatolie, and commenced the Anatolian railways. Since then it has constructed the supplementary Anatolian line from Eskishehr to Konia. Meanwhile it constructed in European Turkey, in Macedonia, the line Saloniki-Monastia. The same bank has likewise obtained a great many concessions for the further development of the Anatolian system of railways."

The development of Russia has been, in some respects, even more remarkable than that of Germany. In 1895, she was reported as possessing only $5,000,000,000 in negotiable securities ; but the issues of the shares of stock companies in Russia amounted in 1895 to 129,363,000 rubles, in 1896 to 232,640,000 rubles, and in 1897 to 239,424,000 rubles ($120,000,000). The issues for 1898 probably exceeded 300,000,000 rubles. The savings-banks deposits, which as recently as 1885 were only 26,619,440 rubles, were 508,512,000 rubles ($260,000,000) in August, 1898. New textile mills, paper-mills, mortgage banks, and discount banks are being established almost every week ; and their mere enumeration fills pages of nearly every number of the invaluable Russian statistical publication, the "Bul-

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letin russe de Statistique." Russian capital united with French capital in 1895 to create the Russo-Chinese Bank, which is now one of the most important instruments of Russian financial and political influence in China. Russia is still a large debtor nation, but is employing her own and borrowed capital in the development of her internal resources in the connection of European Russia with Russia's possessions in the East, and in carrying out a policy intended to make her the potent rival of the great industrial nations.

Great Britain, the first of the great capitalist nations of modern times, which, at the beginning of the century, was already seeking investments in South America, and sending British money to her colonial possessions in India, has witnessed a peculiar development within the last few years. Her control of the banking business of the world and the freedom of commercial exchanges, which brought the products of the nations to London and Liverpool for distribution by British ships and British merchants to other quarters of the world, have long enabled her to live, to a large extent, upon her investments. This has been shown by the great excess of her imports over her exports of merchandise. This "unfavorable balance of trade," in the old Protectionist jargon, is the evidence of her command over the capital and resources of the world, by which interest on her great loans is paid in commodities instead of in gold. The control of the exchanges alone, by means of the colonial banks with London offices and the banks organized with British capital in foreign countries, has been an immense source of profit. These banks, numbering 23 foreign joint-stock companies with London offices, and 29 colonial banks with their head offices in London, possessed at the beginning of 1898 combined capital and reserves of £69,000,000 and deposits of £210,000,000. A dividend of only 4 per cent upon the capital of this investment would pay more than $13,000,000 per year; and much larger dividends have been paid by many institutions, such as the Hong Kong and Shanghai Banking Corporation, the London and River Plate Bank, with its large holdings of the shares of tributary banks, and other instruments of British financial power.

The magnitude of British investments abroad has greatly increased the excess of imports of merchandise over exports within the last few years. For the five years ending with 1890 the average annual excess was $453,533,467; the average for the five years ending with 1895 rose to $669,255,679; while the excess for the

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year 1898 approximated $1,000,000,000. This condition of things has excited some alarm among certain persons in Great Britain, who regard it as evidence of the decline of British industry. This is not the occasion for discussing the merits of this question; but the mere decline of certain manufactures, and the increase in the excess of imports, are not in themselves an indication of anything more than the transfer of capital to more productive enterprises in foreign countries. Great Britain, according to recent estimates, has capital invested abroad to the amount of £2,000,000,000, or nearly $10,000,000,000. The interest upon this sum, at 4½ per cent, would bring her an annual revenue of $450,000,000; and she derives a like amount from the passenger and freight earnings of her merchant marine. So far as these foreign investments are safe and well chosen, British capitalists, in sending their capital abroad, are only following the natural law of unhampered trade; viz., that capital is transferred to the industries affording the greatest profits. The result is much more beneficial to British interests than if the increasing savings of the country were kept at home to bid against each other in the stock market. Such a competition, in a country already equipped with the tools of production and exchange, results in the needless duplication of existing plant and in the rise of first-class securities to such a price that they cease to afford an adequate return upon the capital invested.

The necessity of sending capital abroad to obtain profitable returns is the salient economic lesson of the closing days of the nineteenth century. In recent years interest and discount rates have been declining, as the result of the excess of loanable capital beyond the effective demand of European markets and of the diminishing return paid by first-class investments at home. The facts under this head—indicating that first-class securities in Great Britain, France, and Germany were paying only 2½ per cent, and that French industry was, to some extent, feeding upon itself without increasing the actual return upon invested capital—have been pointed out elsewhere by the present writer.[1]

Upon the basis of the existing consumption of the countries involved, the opponents of colonial expansion often discuss the question of foreign markets as though the only question were the absorption of finished goods. This is in reality the less important side of the

[1] See "The Economic Basis of Imperialism," in "The North American Review" for September, 1898, p. 326.

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problem. The real opportunity afforded by colonial possessions is for the development of the new countries by fixed investments, whose slow completion is the only present means of absorbing saved capital without the needless duplication of existing means of production. Whether trade invariably follows the flag or not, the real question of the benefits of Australia, India, Canada, and Egypt to Great Britain, and of Algeria, Tunis, and Madagascar to France, relates to the fields which have been and will be opened there for the profitable investment of capital, and not merely to the quantity of finished goods laid down annually in the export trade. The development of a new country by means of railways, roads, and docks is the forerunner of higher civilization, better wages, enlarged wants, and increased consumption. The benefits of this larger market for goods usually fall to the country which provides the capital for the primary development, especially if it is that country also which, by its political control, affords the guarantees of security and order.

The energy with which the settled countries of Europe are seeking these opportunities for the investment of their capital has only recently begun to attract the attention of the American people. We have been absorbed for many years in the development of our industries at home, and have only recently begun to feel the effects of diminished discount and interest rates and the pressure of the surplus capital upon the means for its absorption. How extensively the leading countries of Europe have been absorbing territory in Africa and Asia is indicated by a recent report of the United States commercial agent at Weimar regarding the colonial possessions of European states. He shows that, outside the mother-country, Great Britain holds 16,662,073 square miles of territory, with a population of 322,000,000 ; France, 2,505,000 miles, with a population of nearly 50,000,000 ; Germany, 1,615,577 miles, with a population of 7,450,000 ; Holland, 783,000 miles, with a population of 34,210,000 ; and Portugal, 809,914 miles, with a population of 10,215,000.

The mere occupation of these territories is only the beginning of the process of development upon which the occupying countries have entered. The entire face of the world, in relation to its centres of production and routes of trade, is likely to be transformed within the next two generations. As the Mediterranean lost its importance when ocean-going vessels passed outside the Pillars of Hercules, and America and India became the objective points of European commerce, so the developments of the next half-century are likely to

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develop new trade-centres in Asia and Africa. This shifting of the axis of commerce will be strongly affected by the great railway routes which are in process of completion or in contemplation. Within a few years Russia will complete the Trans-Siberian Railway, which will shorten the journey from Paris to the Pacific by many days and will make Russia much closer to Japan and China, by way of Siberia, than England and France can ever be by the ocean. A recent consular report announces that a branch of the South Siberian Railroad, leading to the borders of Afghanistan, has been opened for business, and that the first trip was made on November 20, 1898. This road, it is declared, "is the key to Afghanistan, the borders of Persia, and, above all, the capital city of Herat and the great valley of Heri-Rud."

Within a short time the French Government will probably take up the construction of the Trans-Saharian road, which will bind her flourishing provinces of Algiers and Tunis to Timbuctoo, and the Soudan. It is nearly a quarter of a century since the Trans-Saharian was first broached, and several years since the first link was planned by the Ministry of Public Works. Actual work has not yet been begun; but M. Paul Leroy-Beaulieu, the eminent French economist, has seized upon the withdrawal of the French from Fashoda to point out repeatedly, in the journals for which he writes, that the Trans-Saharian is essential to French domination in Africa and that under its operation France would not only be in a position to transfer a large army in a fortnight from Algiers to the heart of Africa and to threaten British control of the Soudan, but would also open a new world to trade. The heart of Africa, which Stanley penetrated through so many dangers, is likely to become in a few years an easy journey of a few days, in a Pullman sleeper, from French civilization on the northern coast.

The opening of these railways means the development of great areas of country which have not heretofore been factors in Western civilization. They will not at the outset provide large crops or large supplies of finished goods or large bodies of consumers; but every new step in development will add to the degree of civilization of the people, and will make them at once larger producers and larger consumers. Russia will be able, by means of the Trans-Siberian Railway, to move troops or goods from any part of European Russia to the heart of Persia, India, or China, more quickly and more cheaply than any country of Western Europe or the United States. It will be in no way surprising if a great emporium of trade develops

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in Central Asia, once the prolific nursery of the Tartar hordes which swept in successive waves across Europe. Central Africa is less favorably situated, from a climatic point of view, for the creation of a commercial centre inhabited by Europeans ; but Northern Africa, under French domination, may resume the place it held in the time of Hamilcar and Hannibal, if the restrictive policy of France gives place to an invitation to all nations to share in her trade. The great Sahara Desert is already being traversed by French engineers, and a letter in the "Économiste français" of November 19, 1898, declares that a single plateau alone around Air or Asben possesses an area equal to a quarter of that of France, of which a large portion is susceptible of cultivation.

While this reaching out for the markets of the world is going on, the United States cannot afford to adhere to the policy of isolation. The domestic market for finished goods has long since been more than supplied ; and it is one of the encouraging symptoms of the new order of things that American manufactured goods are finding new markets abroad. The exports of American manufactures, which as recently as 1888 were only $130,300,087, were $253,681,541 in 1896, $279,652,721 in 1897, and reached $307,924,994 in 1898. Last year the exports of manufactures from the United States surpassed the imports of manufactures for the first time. It is obvious that the United States is rapidly approaching the condition of Great Britain, France, Germany, and Belgium, where she will be compelled to seek free markets and opportunities for investment in the undeveloped countries, if she is not to be crowded to the wall by the efforts of the other great civilized Powers. The efficiency of machine production, combined with the saving of capital for investment, which restricts the consumption of finished goods, is such that no advanced industrial nation will hereafter find a sufficient market at home for its products or will derive any essential benefit from stimulating an excess of production in particular directions by artificial means. This process may have its value while the country is not self-sufficing in its production of machine-made goods ; but it is without avail when it enters upon the competition for commerce abroad.

The United States is rapidly becoming self-sufficing in respect to its supplies of available capital as well as in the volume of its machine production. A wonderful change has come over its financial and economic conditions within the last six years. It is only within that time that bad financial legislation drove gold abroad,

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paralyzed industry, and brought American securities back upon the New York market by millions in 1893. The crisis was passed without abandoning the monetary standard of other civilized nations; and it may be a question whether the ultimate results did not contribute, at a high cost, to hasten the financial independence which may make New York in the future a competitor of London for the control of the world's money markets. Financial independence is a desirable thing when it can be safely attained. It is not desirable when it is obtained by the expulsion of foreign capital, which might be employed at a profit over and above the cost of its rental. The events of 1893 and the three following years subjected the American people to severe losses, which were largely due to the withdrawal of foreign capital through distrust of our financial policy. In the three fiscal years ending with June 30, 1896, the United States exported $415,611,064 more merchandise than was imported, and exported also $235,000,000 more of the precious metals. This was an excess of more than $200,000,000 over the amount required for the payment of freights to foreign vessels and interest due abroad. This loss was represented by the return of American securities to this country, in addition to the strain put upon our resources by the unwonted experience of paying interest in full on foreign loans, instead of getting the benefit of their constant reinvestment here.

The two and a half years since the summer of 1896 have shown the same enormous excess of American exports over imports which marked the previous three years, but under entirely different conditions. The United States now appears to be buying back American securities held abroad, not because she has to, as was the case in 1893 and 1894, at the cost of bankrupt railways and paralyzed industry, but because she chooses to do it out of her abundant surplus. The past year witnessed a constantly expanding volume of commerce at home, which afforded the means for large purchases of foreign goods. Such purchases have not been taking place; and the imports for 1898 were less than those of any preceding year since 1885. In the meantime there has been a turn of the tide of gold toward this country, which affords the best evidence that, if American securities are being purchased in foreign markets, it is no longer because the foreigner is unloading them at any sacrifice, in order to recover his money, but because the American purchaser has the means to pay a good price. These two and a half years have created an apparent balance of another sum of $200,000,000 in favor of the United States,

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after making liberal deduction for freights to foreign vessels, interest owed abroad, and expenditures by tourists. The United States, therefore, so far as these figures have definite value, is $400,000,000 nearer to financial independence than she was five years ago. It was estimated at that time that $2,000,000,000 of foreign capital was invested in this country. This has since been materially reduced; and the capital which remains is likely to remain permanently at the disposition of American financiers.

The rapidity with which New York has gained upon the other great money-centres of the world within the last few years is indicated by the increase of her banking business. The year 1898 witnessed larger operations through the Clearing-House than any previous year since the creation of the Stock Exchange Clearing-House; and the loans of the banks at the beginning of December nearly doubled those of 1886. All the leading banks of the city, including both the national banks and the State banks which do business through the Clearing-House, had loans on March 4, 1899, amounting to $780,607,700, and deposits amounting to $914,810,300. The corresponding figures for March 16, 1889, just ten years ago, showed loans of $420,406,000, and deposits of $442,684,900. The specie reserves of the New York banks have grown in an even more remarkable manner, and at this writing amount to $198,407,100. The gold held by the United States Treasury, moreover, should be counted, in computing the banking-power of New York. No other great civilized Government undertakes to conduct its own banking business or locks up the gold of the country in its own reserves. If the Treasury gold were added to that of the New York banks, making a total of more than $400,000,000, their combined gold holdings would be more than twice those of the Bank of England, would equal the gold holdings of the Bank of France, and amount to two-thirds of the great reserve accumulated by the Russian Government and the Russian Imperial Bank.

Striking confirmation of the declaration of Mr. Kidd—that the far-reaching effects of the part to be played by the English-speaking peoples in the world's future battle for commercial empire are more generally and clearly perceived on the European Continent than at home—comes to me as I am finishing this article. "L'Économiste européen," one of the most accurate of the French financial journals, contains in its issue of December 23, 1898, an article which emphasizes in forcible language the fact that the United States is

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attaining commercial independence and is threatening the European nations in all their markets. "The United States of America and the Disunited States of Europe" is the warning title with which Prof. Marcel Dubois, of the University of Paris, heads his article. In the gradual growth of the self-sufficiency of the United States to supply her own markets he finds the controlling reason which has led France, Germany, Italy, and Belgium to seek openings in Africa. Even the hope of a compensation in China for lost markets in America M. Dubois sees threatened by the young giant of the West, whose growth he thus describes :

"In spite of respectful and courteous formalities which are exchanged across the Atlantic, the actual state of the relations between Europe and America reveals to us the progress of the economic emancipation of a world which begins to count a self-sufficing population, possessing, by means of its growing numbers and its industrial progress, a less and less quantity of natural products for exportation and receiving already a diminished number of immigrants. Hence the spectacle of a decreasing export trade on the part of the old industrial peoples of Europe, who encounter a sharp competition on the other side of the Atlantic, and yet, in spite of the diminished profits upon the sale of their products, are some of them unable to dispense with the food-supplies of the New World. It is a true state of crisis, an armed peace."

It is little wonder that the French professor, with this drama of the future in his vision, closes by a warning to the Old World,— "disunited, divided, absorbed in quarrels stimulated by the ardor of historic traditions rather than by consciousness of real interest," —to unite "against the monopolists of the ocean and of colonial commerce, whether they be of one nation or of two."

The United States, therefore, with New York as its chief city, stands at the close of the nineteenth century upon the threshold of the commercial and financial empire of the world. It is equipped, by the confession of its rivals, with a strength which fits it to contend for financial supremacy with the great European money-centres, provided it adopts policies which will permit the people to enter unfettered upon the race. The United States should adopt a monetary system which will give certainty to exchanges, and a banking system which will give them elasticity. The adoption of the gold standard by Great Britain in 1818 gave the assurance to every buyer and acceptor of a bill of exchange that he would receive a fixed weight of gold in London. There was no loss of exchange to be reckoned with, as in the case of an alternating standard ; so that the rates of exchange could be reduced to the actual cost of trans-

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ferring money and capital. Prof. Bagehot well states the advantage which London enjoyed over Paris in this respect, especially after the suspension of specie payments in France at the time of the Franco-Prussian War. He says, in "Lombard Street":

"Formerly, for many purposes, Paris was a European settling-house; but now it has ceased to be so. The note of the Bank of France has not indeed been depreciated enough to disorder ordinary transactions; but any depreciation, however small, —even the liability to depreciation without its reality,—is enough to disorder exchange transactions: they are calculated to such an extremity of fineness that the change of a decimal may be fatal, and may turn a profit into a loss. Accordingly, London has become the sole great settling-house of exchange transactions in Europe."

A banking system capable of conducting great transactions through branches in all parts of the world is almost as essential to financial supremacy as a definite monetary standard. Great Britain owes a large share of her power to the generosity with which she has chartered the great foreign banks with London branches and the London banks with foreign branches, whose capital, amounting to $345,000,000, I have already mentioned. These banks are distinct from those which carry on the domestic banking of the Kingdom. The joint-stock banks of England and Wales number only 90; but their nearly six thousand branches throughout the Kingdom have secured them deposits of nearly $3,000,000,000. The rapidity with which capitalization proceeds under such conditions is indicated by the fact that these deposits have nearly doubled since 1888. Moreover, they do not include the deposits in the Post-Office savings-banks, which increased from £53,974,065 at the close of 1887 to £115,896,786 ($570,000,000) at the close of 1897. The permission to establish branches, which is accorded to all the great British banks, has done much to accumulate the capital of the community in their hands, and to turn it to the most productive uses at home and abroad. In the United States, branch banking would do much toward producing the same results. It is also desirable that banks should be permitted to issue their credits in the form most convenient to their patrons. The issue of notes is the most acceptable form of issuing credit in many parts of the United States; and a more elastic note system is of the first importance, if American banks are to be enabled to reduce their charges to the lowest limit and to compete successfully with their great European rivals.

Old restrictions upon trade, and useless superstitions, must be abandoned in the contest for commercial supremacy. The policy of

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Protection must be adapted by its friends to the new conditions, or it must be abandoned. Protection may be useful in stimulating infant industries: it becomes a relic of mediævalism when it stimulates production which has already become excessive and which can find an outlet only in a field which Protection cannot enter. The political organization of the country should also be given a degree of harmony and symmetry which will permit the direction of the whole power of the state toward definite and intelligent policies. This is one of the secrets of the success of the Russian Government, with its absolute power, and, in a lesser degree, of the success of the British Empire, which has steadily maintained the colonial policy of Great Britain where the British flag has once been raised, with only such changes under successive administrations as modern progress has seemed to require. Party politics have not paralyzed British power, because the executive and legislative branches of the Government have been in harmony, and because an imperial policy has seldom been antagonized upon petty partisan grounds.

If the American Constitution, framed for conditions more different, from an economic standpoint, from those of the present than the difference between the times of Augustus and those of Jefferson, requires amendment, in order to consolidate the industrial and financial resources of the Union to meet her rivals as a world Power, the Constitution, like other human instruments, should be amended. This has been the secret of the preservation of the British constitution. It has not been a set of rigid formulas inscribed upon mouldering parchment. The constitution has kept pace with the steady upward march of the British people, from the days when the Barons wrung Magna Charta from King John, nearly seven centuries ago, to the modern development of free suffrage at home, of supreme power on the ocean, and of the ability to dictate financial policies to the world; and its expansion to meet new necessities has never failed to respond to the enlightened judgment of the directors of Britain's imperial policy.

CHARLES A. CONANT.

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A SIDE-ISSUE OF EXPANSION.

MR. BRYAN, SENATOR HOAR, and others of that strange amalgamation which opposes Expansion dread, among other things, the opportunities for political or administrative profligacy which they assume would be a consequence of our inclusion of strange peoples.

When I was on my way to India a couple of years ago, I met on the P. and O. steamer a young English gentleman, evidently an Oxford man, and, to outward view, simply one of those aristocrats that one meets in correct dress on Pall Mall and at the clubs. You run across such men at smart parties, at exclusive dinners, at the races, and exchange conventional remarks with them. They appear rather bored by this sort of thing, but are apt to wake up a little if you speak of a hunting-trip to the Rockies, or of tiger-shooting in India. My acquaintance was, of course, somewhat reserved at first, with no flow of talk,—monosyllabic in fact, though by no means gruff and surly, but manifestly well-disposed, if he could but think of something to say. He was a strikingly fine-looking fellow, over six feet, well set up, with a dark, aquiline face and a serious expression. His "good form" was unexceptionable; and he bore the name of one of the oldest English families.

He was not a soldier; and it did not occur to me that he had ever been in India before. We sat in extension-chairs and smoked together, and walked up and down the deck, both of us being happily free from seasickness and actively disposed. After a week or so, we got on the topic of theosophy, in which I found him to be a past master; and he cordially placed at my disposal quite a library of books and pamphlets of the cult, which he had stowed away among his "traps." But I was more concerned to talk with him than to read his literature; and I asked him how he came to be so well informed in this direction. He replied that he had found some time on his hands in India, and had taken up the study at first as a diversion, but afterward with more serious purpose.

"You've been in India, then?"

"Yes," he admitted: he had spent ten or a dozen years there.

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"Hunting?"

"No: fact is, I was acting as—er—a commissioner in Burma."

I kept at him, and finally dragged out of him the information that he was, in truth, practically the ruler of some millions of human beings in that distant region; governing with absolute sway a province about as large as France, with power of life and death over everybody in it; directing its policy; dispensing justice from its Supreme Bench; enforcing its laws, and at the same time communing democratically with its populace; going long journeys among the latter, into the most remote districts, with no guard but that "power of the eye that bows the will," and regarded by them as their father, if not their god.

I was very much surprised; but he spoke of it all as he might have done of a game of cricket in which he had had the luck to make a fair score. His modesty was unaffected: any fellow could do what he had done, and more, given the opportunity. It was, in his opinion, quite in the line of the day's work of an ordinary Englishman.

Well (thought I), perhaps it is; but I am sure there is no such class of young Americans as this. I wished there were; but then, we had no opportunities—no colonies; no semi-civilized races whom we might instruct in freedom and justice; no opening for the careers of such civilians and soldiers as Clive, Hastings, the Lawrences, Havelock, Colin Campbell, and the rest of those magnificent fellows who made British India. They made it; but did not it also make them? Cecil Rhodes made Rhodesia; but did not Africa make Cecil Rhodes? What would all these men have been, had there been no British foreign possessions? Would they not have remained for all their useless lives dawdlers in Pall Mall, ornaments of smart parties and dinners, well-dressed, desperately bored society loungers, sipping wine, smoking cigars, talking scandal, laying wagers? Certainly they would. But they got their openings, their opportunities; and these developed in them splendid qualities, which otherwise had remained unexercised and unsuspected. These idle, well-born clubmen became the finest administrators, the most enlightened and self-devoted statesmen, the world ever saw: the enormous responsibilities they shouldered raised them from the stature of clubmen to that of giants. Glorious, lofty, and honorable were their lives; and in death they are not forgotten. They benefited their fellow-creatures; and they bestowed renown on their country. Nothing base or selfish belonged to them. But there were none of that stamp in our poor, boasting America—not since

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the days of the Revolution and the Constitution. With us it was each man for himself, and the devil take everybody else.

No (thought I, upon reflection): I am wrong. There are such men, such potential men, among us ; but they lack opportunity. Our political life is so foul-mouthed and grimy that few who are not already foul-mouthed and grimy care to enter it. And as for colonies, or foreign possessions of any description, we have none : some even pretend that our Constitution discountenances them. And if we did have them, is it not likely that a pack of ward-heelers and other political hucksters and hangers-on would be sent out to administer them, instead of the good blood, honest hearts, and clear brains of the country ; not gentlemen, not men of liberal education and generous impulses, but illiterate and vulgar demagogues and taproom-loungers ; not men of noble traditions and high aims, but men of low aims, knowing no better ambition than to fill their pockets? I feared so. And, so fearing, I thought that perhaps after all it was as well for our national reputation that we had no colonies.

But, while I sat talking with my young English commissioner, destiny had in view for us things which I did not foresee. We went to war with an evil and retrograde European nation ; and the fortune of war brought us new lands in the West and in the East, inhabited by races which had never known freedom or justice, progress or enlightenment. We are responsible for them ; and, whatever politicians may say, we must account for them before God and man at our national peril. How are we going to discharge our responsibilities?

This war of ours, short and, in some respects, humiliating though it was, saw the sudden making of some splendid names. It proved once again that there were among us noble, generous, and high-minded men, young and old, not only ready to give all they had and were for their country, but who, under the stimulus put upon them, expanded to a greatness which had not been apprehended in them, and towered to a stature that surprised us, who thought we knew them. But we had not known them. We never know what is best in us till the need comes that draws it forth.

Since then, some of us have begun to have new thoughts and hopes. Have we not in this country as good material for the making of pure administrators and able statesmen as England has? Are there not hundreds and thousands of well-educated, well-bred, magnanimous men who are wasting their days on Fifth Avenue, at re-

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ceptions, at races, at the opera, with temptations toward things yet more useless and morally debilitating, who, if the chance were offered them, might become the peers of the Rhodeses and Lawrences of our kin across the sea? Unquestionably there are. And, with their aid, would not America win a fairer fame than she ever could by multiplying selfish fortunes and by fostering dishonest schemes within her continental border? Surely she would.

Let the American people neither fear our politicians, nor imagine that they can do with us as they will. What the people clearly and firmly desire will be done. If we demand that not the worst, but the best, element of our population shall go forth to administer our new dependencies, our demand will be obeyed. Admiral Dewey would make a good governor of the Philippines; but there are men as good as Dewey, when they are needed. Col. Roosevelt would make an able administrator of Porto Rico; but Roosevelt is not the only man of his calibre. All over this land there are men able to do what my young Englishman did. And it is my belief that they will now come forward, and assume their proper place and function in the new national economy. They will be the means of introducing into our national life a fresh and most wholesome element,—an element of unselfishness, of conscientiousness, of dignified and earnest manhood, which has been but sparingly represented of late. True Americans must believe that America is the hope of the human race; and we are bound to demonstrate this belief, not merely by receiving the fugitives of the Old World under our flag here at home, but by unfurling the flag, as God may give us opportunity, over those who have been the victims of oppression abroad, and by giving them to learn what to them are the yet unimagined lessons of liberty and light.

JULIAN HAWTHORNE.

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PHYSICAL-GROWTH PERIODS AND APPROPRIATE PHYSICAL EXERCISES.

In the discussion of any educational problem we must consider these three factors: First, the object and aim of instruction; second, the best methods to be employed in the attainment of this end or aim; and, third, the nature of the raw material—the child—with which we have to deal, and whose growth, physical, mental, and moral, we must fashion and guide.

As to the first of these factors, we are all agreed that the aim of instruction in American public schools is and must ever be the best type of citizenship possible—the best physically, mentally, and morally. We are also pretty well agreed as to the methods,—methods that have resulted from many years of discussion and actual trial and employment in our schools. It is to the underestimated value of the third of these factors that I desire to call attention in this paper, and to that only in relation to one phase of the child's development—his physical growth. Do parents and teachers pause frequently enough to inquire, What is the child upon whom our educational methods, in school and at home, must be brought to bear, in order to attain the end sought as the goal of the educative process? What would be thought of a manufacturer who knew perfectly the nature of the product of his great mill, who knew also every pulley, valve, and piece of shafting of its intricate machinery, but knew nothing whatever of the raw material that entered into the manufactured product?

What is the child, physically, mentally, and morally, as he knocks at our schoolroom door at the age of six years? What changes take place in him at eight years of age, at ten, at fourteen? What mental changes attend the changes in bodily functions? What moral evolution follows in the wake of these marked physical changes and mental disturbances?

Modern child-study seeks to answer these and many other questions. It is an application of modern physiological psychology, through which the child's mind is made an open page, in order that

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all concerned in his growth and development may read and thoroughly know his nature, and, knowing this, may work most intelligently in the utilization of educational facts and forces. What are some of the facts thus ascertained, as the result of recent investigations, that should guide us in the education of the child, and more particularly in his physical education?

In the first place, with reference to the physical growth of the child, growth focuses for a time upon one set of organs or functions, then upon another, until the whole body is developed; but all parts of the body do not grow at one and the same time. The body grows first in length, and then in girth, in breadth and depth of chest, in breadth and height of forehead, in breadth and length of face. Furthermore, all children unfold their physical powers in exactly the same order, the difference between children of any age consisting in the fact that they do not grow at the same rate.

To make a special application of this well-known fact of periodicity in physical growth, let us observe the development of the muscles of the arm. The muscles of the upper arm—those concerned in the functioning of the shoulder-joint—are ripe and ready for training at least a year and one-half before the muscles of the fingers. The muscles of the shoulder mature for training six months before the muscles of the elbow; and these, in turn, five to eight months before the muscles of the wrist, which are ripe and ready for training from three to six months before the muscles of the fingers. When we insist that a child shall begin to write by means of the finger-muscles only, with a small pencil, in narrow spaces on ruled paper or a slate, we run directly counter to the principles of growth and development that nature has so plainly written in his constitution. Must not education, to be education at all, be in accord with these principles, rather than in opposition to them? The child of six years, during the first days of his school life, chooses to make large, whole-arm movements, rather than the minute movements of the finger-muscles. At first, he requires "almost an acre" of blackboard space in which to write a few sentences. We must train the large shoulder-muscles before attempting to burden the tender, undeveloped finger-muscles, which are really injured by such too early strain and involved activity.

Thus we find in our best regulated kindergartens of to-day none of the finer work for the younger children. The young child is no longer required to take up the bead-stringing and pin-pricking

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exercises—at least not until his eyes and his finger-muscles are ripe and ready for such training. In some of the most modern kindergartens the occupations and gifts are concerned with larger objects instead of those formerly used, which were of the smaller, more orthodox size,—larger blocks, larger pencils, larger needles, larger beads, and coarse string instead of fine thread.

In addition to the growth periods (these nascent periods of certain functions and groups of muscles), attention must be called to two of the critical periods of school life—periods of peculiar "storm and stress."

In my examination of several thousand public-school children, more particularly in the schools of Illinois, I have found a large number between the ages of seven and one-half and eight and one-half years with dilated hearts and the consequent symptoms of cardiac incompetence, such as shortness of breath and extreme liability to fatigue. These examinations, made upon 32,500 school-children at various ages, disclose the interesting fact that the child of seven fatigues less readily than the child of six, as would naturally be expected, but that the child of eight fatigues *more* readily than the child of either six or seven. This is not a mere chance exposition: it is based, as stated, upon the writer's observations of more than 32,000 school-children; and like results have been found in similar observations by others, notably Dr. Gilbert in his study of the school-children of New Haven, Connecticut.

Specialists in the diseases of children find evidence of fatigue extremely common among children of this age; and in not a few is evidence of dilatation of the heart found. Says Dr. Christopher, Professor of Pediatrics in the College of Physicians and Surgeons of Chicago, and an eminent authority on the diseases of children (who, by the way, has been fittingly elected a member of the Chicago Board of Education):

> "We must recognize that the period from seven to nine years of age, quite irrespective of the other conditions of the life of the child, is one in which fatigue occurs very readily, and one in which damage to the heart is likely to be produced."

It is at this period, about the age of eight and one-half years, that so many children, unusually bright in their previous school-work at six or seven years, "flatten out," as it were. This is due to inefficient heart-action, with its resultant frequent periods of fatigue. Such children cannot be interested to any great extent in school-

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work,—to the vexation of their teachers and the discouragement of their parents. As a rule, they regain their lost *prestige*, if properly "coached" through this critical period.

Another period that should occasion grave concern on the part of parents and teachers is the period between the ages of twelve and fourteen, which is one of most rapid physical growth and, at the same time, of more or less physical revolution, of minor mental vagaries, and of morbid mental emotion. The Germans appropriately call this "the period of storm and stress." As a rule, this is the time when discouragement over school-work is readily manifested in the pupil,—a period when the awkward, rapidly growing boy wishes to drop out of school; preferring to undertake even the most menial labor, if he may only be permitted to pass from under the direction of the teacher. The fact, that both parents and teachers frequently fail to understand the boy during this, the most critical, period of his career, is the reason for so many boys dropping out of school, and the cause of our upper classes in the high schools being so depleted in numbers in so far as boys are concerned.

The writer has indicated the various periods of physical growth for the purpose of calling attention to the physical exercises most appropriate at different ages. It is certainly a demonstrated truth, to all students of physical training, that a certain exercise which is of benefit at one period of growth is absolutely of no value at another period of development; while at still another period the same exercise is positively harmful to the child. Let us now make a summary of physical exercises most beneficial at various ages.

The first period for which exercise should be provided is the period between six and nine years of age. The positive need of exercise during this period is for the purpose of incitement to growth by animating the organic activities, the breathing, and the circulation of the blood. There is great need of special incitement to the formation of blood, because the processes just mentioned are so largely interfered with and impeded by the compulsory sitting posture in the schoolroom. There is special need for exercises in the open air,—recreation exercises, those that conduce to animation and increase of joy;—for a cheerful mental state is one of the most essential conditions of rapid growth. Joy is a physiological necessity.

The exercises that must be forbidden during this period are those in which occur any severe strain of even a small number of muscles. Such strain and fatigue must be avoided in order to prevent

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consumption of material needed for growth and development. Because of the heart-changes alluded to above, such exercises as rope-jumping should be positively prohibited during this period. The juvenile nervous system must not be burdened by any system of training in tactics and calisthenics; for these latter are of no value here, though of much service a year or two later. The exercises recommended are the simple games of motion.

The second period for which appropriate physical exercises must be provided is that between the years of nine and fourteen. Three kinds of exercise during this period are needed. First, exercises tending to continued incitement to growth and formation of blood, as above. Second, exercises that tend to the acquisition of a well-poised carriage and graceful walk. (The muscles during this period are ripe and ready for training in this particular. If such training be deferred, the graceful carriage of body can never be acquired to the same degree.) Third, those involving practice of skill. All exercises of *endurance* involve great risk during this period, on account of impending molecular changes. They must never be continued to the point of exhaustion, but must be stopped when fatigue manifests itself. The high-school boy with athletic aspirations makes a serious mistake when he apes certain of the "events" of college athletics that require great endurance. The mile run, tug-of-war, and similar events should always be eliminated from high-school "Field-Day" exercises. If football games be permitted, the length of each half should not exceed twenty minutes.

The exercises especially recommended during this period may thus be summarized: During the first third of the period—ordinarily from nine to eleven years of age—tactics and calisthenics will prove of great value. Then should follow exercises in quickness. This, of all periods, is the period for training with respect to muscular quickness. Subsequently, there must be exercises of skill on gymnasium apparatus. Toward the close of this period, and at the beginning of the next, there should be, by all means, intricate ball games and games of alertness. The boy who does not take up such games as baseball by the time he approaches the close of his thirteenth year is certainly missing a golden opportunity in his physical training.

The period of physical development *par excellence* is that from fourteen to twenty years of age. In his own investigations on Illinois school-children, the writer has found that the average boy

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increases in weight between the ages of fourteen and fifteen 17.2 pounds, and 16.5 pounds between the ages of fifteen and sixteen. In the two years between fourteen and sixteen he increases in weight by as many pounds as in the entire five or six years preceding the age of fourteen. All of this new tissue must become organized ; and this can be accomplished in a great measure only by appropriate physical exercises.

The crying need of exercise during this period is for the purpose, above all, of inciting strong activity of heart and lungs ; and, to be of any real benefit, the exercises must conduce to the development of skill, daring, and courage. Prolonged exertion must be forbidden, on account of possible deleterious effects upon the functions of breathing and circulation. Exhaustive exercises of endurance should also be avoided. At the beginning of this period there must be continued employment in exercises of skill on apparatus in the gymnasium, and continued participation in the intricate ball games and games of alertness. There should be some of the more easy and moderate exercises of endurance ; and exercises of strength should also be taken up at this time. This stage is extremely important from the point of view of physical development, especially of heart and lungs ; for it is during this period that they readily lend themselves to the beneficent effects of appropriate physical exercises.

It is during the next period—that between the years of twenty and thirty—that the highest achievements in skill and quickness can be acquired. Severe exercises of endurance—the tug-of-war, the college boat-race, and the like—are also appropriate to this period. Easy calisthenics and graceful tactics are now, however, of no practical value. In fact, all the best authorities postpone easy calisthenics after the age of eleven years to the years between forty-five and sixty. During the period under discussion—that between the ages of twenty and thirty—the gymnasium exercises should consist of general exercises of strength and heavy exercises of endurance.

It may be said, in passing, that the exercises during the years intervening between thirty and forty are for the purpose of still higher achievements in strength and endurance and for the purpose of oxidizing surplus fat. Skill can no longer be increased. The highest achievements in quickness are, as a rule, no longer possible.

In the discussion of the topic of this paper, the writer has had in mind the larger and more profound problem—the provision in the child of to-day of a large stock in trade of physical vigor.

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This will, at the same time, bring to him greater power to resist disease, not only physical disease, but also various forms of psychopathic taint that may result from the stress of social conditions in which he may be compelled to pass his later life,—real mental abnormalities that would certainly befall him if his powers of resistance should be weakened, owing to a poorly developed body. Physical exercise properly adjusted to the periods of growth is a provision against the inordinate demands of the future. It indirectly invigorates the mind as certainly as it directly invigorates the body.

As parents and citizens, we are frequently cautious not to load too heavy pecuniary burdens upon our children, the future citizens of the State. But do we consider whether or not we should tax the physical and mental health of posterity? We do thus tax it, not intentionally, but ignorantly and thoughtlessly. The use to which the individual puts his physical and mental powers may be merely his own affair. But I believe this is only apparently so. In truth, it is the concern not only of the society in which he lives, but equally of coming generations.

WILLIAM O. KROHN.

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WHY TEACHERS HAVE NO PROFESSIONAL STANDING,—SOME SUGGESTIONS TO THE NATIONAL EDUCATIONAL ASSOCIATION.

It is universally deplored in educational circles that, in spite of all that has been done in the field of elementary education, the teacher has no professional standing; and the members of the pedagogical fraternity feel, in consequence, that they are not meeting with their just deserts. In view of this, would it not be in place for educators to make an effort to discover why recognition is withheld, in the hope that a knowledge of the cause will ultimately lead to the proper remedy?

Pedagogy has been most frequently compared with medicine, to which it does, perhaps, for a number of reasons, bear a closer analogy than to any of the other leading professions. Yet, regardless of the amount of preparation it represents, the diploma received from the medical college marks a class of distinction, while that received from the normal school stands for practically nothing beyond a guarantee that a certain course in pedagogics has been completed. What I mean by this is so obvious that I need not enter into a detailed explanation.

This discrimination against pedagogy may be attributed to one of two causes; viz., (1) ignorance on the part of the layman as to what progress has been made in that field, or (2) lack of good and sufficient reasons why pedagogy should be recognized on a par with the accepted sciences. If due to the former cause, it will be in place for educators to endeavor to dispel public ignorance in the matter, by making out their case and laying it before the people. If, on the other hand, it should be found that the claim to recognition is not yet warranted by the status of pedagogy, then teachers should become introspective, try to discover where their weakness lies, and see what may be done to raise the standard of their calling to the level of the recognized sciences.

To make out a case substantiating the claim that pedagogy should be classed among the leading sciences is no small undertaking. It

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necessitates the drawing up of a brief including an epitome of the history of elementary education in all its departments ; showing how crude notions have grown into clearly defined educational theories ; how these theories have been applied in practice ; which of them have stood the test of time and which have not ; and what general principles have been thus evolved, which, through universal acceptance by educators, now lend a scientific basis to practical pedagogy. Such would constitute the essence of the pedagogue's case, which must stand or fall as the principles enumerated are or are not universally accepted as sound.

As there is no body of workers whose resources are so ample, both financially and in regard to practical helpers, as those of the National Educational Association, it appears to me that no organization would be better fitted to take this task in hand. At the present moment the suggestion is particularly timely. The forthcoming meeting at Los Angeles will be the last but one of the century; and what could be more appropriate than the appointment of a committee to prepare, for discussion at the closing meeting of the century, a report showing the century's progress in pedagogy,—what is known of teaching to-day that was not known a century ago.

My own view of the matter is that such a report would not convince the public of the justice of the teacher's claim. On the contrary, I believe it would show that practical pedagogy is still lacking in that element of precision which is characteristic of the recognized sciences ; that educators do not agree on the most elementary questions ; and, consequently, that pedagogy has not yet reached that point which entitles it to a standing in the same category with medicine. It may be said that recognition should not be withheld from pedagogy simply because educators fail to agree ; that disagreement among doctors is proverbial. But, in my opinion, there is this difference between pedagogy and medicine : All pedagogical statements, at least as far as practical school-work is concerned, are based on theory, as a result of which educators are divided into factions on every point ; while the practice of medicine is based partly on theory and partly on definite knowledge, so that, although there are many points on which physicians fail to agree, there are, at the same time, a great many on which they do agree, and which constitute a wide platform on which all members of the profession stand.

That, in spite of equally extended experience, this difference should exist between the two sciences, may be explained by a difference in

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their methods of observation. In pedagogy, these methods have been so crude that educators have not been able to study, even with approximate accuracy, the results of their millions of experiments in teaching, and have, therefore, failed to receive due profit from their varied experiences; while in medicine, factors have been introduced from time to time by means of which strong rays of light have been thrown on matters which before were totally obscure. In the absence of definite methods of observation, everything in pedagogy is still decided subjectively, *i.e.*, by mere impression; and the teacher's impressions are guided almost wholly by his prejudices in favor of one theory as against another. In medicine, on the other hand, while impressions still play an important part, objective means also come largely into operation; and the latter form such an important factor in practice, that, in the diagnosis and treatment of disease, the physician is not justified in trusting to his impressions until every objective means of study has been properly utilized. And the range of objective work is extending almost day by day.

For the sake of clearness and by reason of analogy, I shall mention a few of the objective aids which have placed medicine where it stands to-day; viz., (1) the thermometer, which not only enables the physician to tell the slightest variations in the patient's temperature, but also gives him the power to study with precision the influence of his remedial measures in a large number of diseases; (2) physical diagnosis, which makes it possible for him to detect and to follow with certainty the progress of many diseases of internal organs; (3) the microscope, which has not only performed marvels for diagnosis, but which, by paving the way for the study of bacteriology, has done a great service in many lines pertaining to the prevention of disease; and (4) the X-ray, which enables the observer's vision to penetrate the semi-solid tissues of the body. The value of all these aids and of a great many more is universally recognized by physicians; and through their instrumentality many a long-drawn-out controversy has been brought to a close.

Before pedagogy can be placed in the same category with medicine, means of observation will have to be devised which will do for pedagogy what the thermometer and the microscope have done for medicine. Light must be thrown on points that cannot be detected by ordinary observation, and certainty given to statements which are now unsupported by actual proof.

The claim may be made that in recent years two means of in-

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creasing the teacher's powers of observation have actually come into use; viz., experimental psychology and child-study. But who would place these in the same category with the thermometer and the microscope? The best we can expect from either is the development of more theories; but the trouble with pedagogy is that the number of theories is already too large. While both of these pedagogical aids answer an admirable purpose, it is not in the nature of either to give us the much-needed knowledge in regard to the practical question to which I shall now call attention, and which must be settled before the way will be paved for wholesome, uninterrupted progress in our schools,—progress with the force of public opinion behind it.

The pedagogical question to which I refer is that upon which discussion has been centred for many years, not only in professional circles, but among the general public as well, and which relates to the enrichment of the elementary-school course. We may take it for granted that all are agreed that a broad education is preferable to a narrow one, and that, other things being equal, every worthy citizen would cast his vote in favor of the former, if at any time the question should be brought to an issue. Consequently, the controversy does not relate to the desirability of broadening the course for all children, but to whether a material enrichment of the course is feasible, or whether, for want of time, the work of the elementary school must necessarily be confined, now and forever, almost exclusively to the formal studies. Therefore, although a great many philosophical questions call for consideration in the education of the child, the practical problem of prime importance to-day, the only one in which the citizen is really interested, is still the problem of the 3 R's, which, fundamentally, is purely a question of time. If the issue could be decided by arguments based upon theory and ordinary observation, educators would long ago have come to an understanding: that they do not yet agree is clearly a proof that arguments of this nature have failed, and that something more definite will have to be brought into play before the question can be satisfactorily answered.

To prove how little theoretical discussion and ordinary observation have been able to do toward bringing the controversy to a close, it will be necessary for me to show merely how great are the differences of opinion still current among educators concerning this elementary pedagogical problem. The time which the Ultra-Conser-

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vatives claim must be set aside for the formal studies in order to secure satisfactory results, may, perhaps, be represented as follows; viz., reading and language 90 minutes daily; spelling 40; penmanship 20; arithmetic 60; or a total of 210 out of, say, 270 minutes of the school day, allowing only 60 for all other subjects. On the other hand, the claim of the Ultra-Radicals is that some such appropriation as follows will suffice to accomplish satisfactory results; viz., reading and language 60 minutes daily; spelling 10; penmanship 10; arithmetic 30; total, 110 minutes, allowing 160 minutes daily—or nearly three times as much as their professional opponents—for other subjects. These figures are not absolute; but they demonstrate the principle, and will pass, for the sake of argument. As they stand, they indicate that the Ultra-Radicals accuse the Ultra-Conservatives of wasting 40 per cent of the child's time; the percentages given to the 3 R's, for practically the same purpose, being about 80 and 40 per cent, respectively, of all the time spent in school.

If the Conservatives are right in their contention, then the work of the elementary school must ever remain confined almost entirely to instruction in the formal studies; while, if the Radicals are right, the possibilities of the elementary school open up an entirely new vista. Teachers of the Progressive school claim that, although they give only half as much time as the others to the 3 R's, their results are equally as good; while those of the old school strenuously deny that their results in the formal studies are no better than those secured by the Radicals. Is not this point of sufficient importance to call for settlement? What more important work could the National Educational Association perform than to institute an investigation into this matter?

The Old Education has possession of the field; an irresistible force will be required to displace it; and such a force can be found only in convincing evidence. As the advocates of the New Education have no facts to present with which to plead their cause, the superintendent with theories is obliged to fight the whole community,—the board of education, teachers, and citizens alike,—to carry his theories into practice; and, if he succeeds in doing so, in spite of them all, it will not be by reason of the strength of his arguments, but because of the strength of his personality.

But suppose there is a change in the nature of things? Suppose the superintendent strengthens his case by arguing from facts instead of from theories? Suppose he says to his board that he will reduce

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the time for arithmetic from 60 to 30 minutes a day, the time for spelling from 40 to 10, and so on, and will fill up the time with the arts and sciences, not because he does not care whether the children can cipher and spell or not, so long as they take an interest in science or in art, but because he has facts at his command to prove that, under proper conditions, 30 minutes a day devoted to arithmetic will lead to the same results as are ordinarily secured in 60 ; that 10 minutes a day devoted to spelling will accomplish the same results as 40, and so on? Such figures as these, if so presented by the superintendent that they could be verified by the board, would represent a whole army at his support : they would act as a force which could not be counteracted by the conservatism of the entire community.

But, before such effective arguments as these can be brought to the superintendent's support, it will be necessary to devise the means whereby the educator's powers of observation will be so increased that he will be able to tell with precision what his teaching is doing for him. It will be necessary, I repeat, to introduce into pedagogy methods of observation which will do for the educator what the thermometer and the microscope have done for the physician,—ways and means by which he may measure with precision the status as well as the progress of his pupils, and so record the facts that they will be of definite value for future guidance. It is only then that he will be able to study accurately the results of his varied pedagogical experiments, to be assured that, when he changes from one method to another, the change is in the right direction, and to demonstrate, to the satisfaction of all, which of the current theories of teaching are true and which of them are false.

To be of scientific value, the *modus operandi* must permit the teaching profession to demonstrate that when things are done in a certain way certain results will follow, and that when they are done in another way other results will follow; or, perhaps, that different roads lead to the same end. Moreover, a means of observation which would enlighten us concerning the value of Process A, as compared with Process B, would at the same time serve as a gauge for measuring the comparative efficiency of different teachers, by showing the results secured by Teacher A as compared with those obtained by Teacher B, when the same process is employed.

At present our means of judging of the comparative qualifications of different teachers are not more scientific than those of comparing the relative values of different plans of instruction. Indeed, our esti-

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mate of the teacher's professional strength cannot become definite until we are able to say with precision just how much a teacher ought to be able to accomplish in a term, when a certain number of minutes per week are devoted to a subject. For example, if the time for arithmetic should be reduced in a particular class-room from 60 to 30 minutes daily, and the results at the end of the term should not be satisfactory, we could not say with certainty to-day whether the teacher had failed to live up to her possibilities, or whether 30 minutes' daily instruction had been unreasonably short. In the absence of trustworthy evidence, we should probably decide to return to the original time-table. If, however, a goodly number of teachers had been actually found who had secured satisfactory results with 30 minutes' teaching, then the proper remedy for the former case would lie not in changing the time back again to 60 minutes, but in changing the teacher for one who does not need 60 minutes for a piece of work that can be done in 30. Men of affairs in every field are striving toward economy of effort: their very subsistence depends upon it. Why should education be ruled out of the field? Why should not good workmanship count here as in every other department? Why should this country spend $100,000,000 a year for teaching the 3 R's, if, by the elimination of waste, the same results could be attained for $50,000,000 or less?

But can means be devised which will enable the educator so to increase his powers of observation as to throw a clear light on these vexing problems? While there are, perhaps, certain subtle philosophical and psychological questions involved in pedagogy which will always remain matters of speculation, and whose relative values can never be measured by any scale, I have not the least shadow of a doubt that means can be found which will solve the purely mechanical ones. Why should it be impossible to devise standards which will demonstrate, to the satisfaction of every one, whether, in round numbers, 200 minutes' daily instruction will, under all circumstances, be needed to accomplish certain definitely prescribed results in the 3 R's, or whether, by improvements in ways and means, 100 minutes will suffice to lead to the same end?

I wish to say, in passing, that when we look at the world around us, we find nothing absurd in the idea that such a reduction in time is possible. Modes of transportation have been inaugurated which permit one to travel in a day a distance which could not have been travelled at the beginning of this century in less than a month. Ma-

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chinery has been devised which will enable an individual to do in a day a piece of work which formerly required a month to perform. So, why should not processes be discovered which will allow the teacher of to-day, with a broad, general education, and with a knowledge of past pedagogical experiences for guidance, to do in one hour what the average teacher of a century ago—whose general education was limited, and who knew nothing whatever of pedagogical methods—was unable to accomplish in less than two? Nor need we set to work to invent new methods of teaching which may possibly turn out to be more economical than the old ones. Numerous varieties of methods are in use, and have been in use for many years; and, consequently, to answer our purpose for a long time to come, we need only devise a system which will enable us to study the comparative economy of the methods now in vogue.

In my opinion, it is not only possible to find a way of studying this matter, but the way itself is so clear as almost to speak for itself. That there are certain difficulties in application, cannot be denied; yet none of these are insurmountable, or, indeed, even more complicated than those encountered in the application of principles in the applied sciences. The initial steps will necessarily be crude; but so have been the initial steps in other fields of research; and, just as in other cases, the mode of procedure will have to pass through a process of evolution before it can be so adjusted as to be perfectly satisfactory in practice.

Space will permit me to speak here of the plan only in outline. For the details of the method, and the results of its application, I would refer the reader to the articles in which I first brought the matter to the notice of the public.[1] While I do not ask that any of the conclusions expressed in those articles should be accepted as final, I nevertheless feel that the examinations, extending to 100,000 children, upon which those articles were based, have fully demonstrated the feasibility of the method. I now appeal to the National Educational Association to carry on a work whose proportions are too large for individual enterprise.

The plan consists, naturally, in examining the pupils who have been instructed in the various subjects in different ways, and then comparing the results; the questions being the same, grade for grade, in all cases. The results must be tabulated in proper statistical form, and

[1] See THE FORUM for December, 1896, and for January, February, April, and June, 1897.

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accompanied invariably by statements as to the number of minutes daily devoted to the subjects under consideration, the methods employed, and numerous other features that must be taken into account, in order that the conclusions may be so supported that they will stand the test of scientific scrutiny.

Let us say, for example, that the pupils of School *A*, where 30 minutes a day are devoted to arithmetic, and those of School *B*, where 60 minutes are given to that subject, are examined on the same set of questions, and the results turn out to be the same. This would indicate that there was something wrong somewhere with School *B;* but it would not be sufficient in itself to tell us the exact nature of the trouble. If the methods employed had been about the same in both schools, but a marked difference were found in the class of children, the trouble might lie with the children ; if the class of children were about the same in each case, and the methods had varied, then the methods might be at fault ; or, these factors being equal, the variation might lie in the degree of efficiency on the part of the teachers. Or, again, if two schools in which the time devoted to arithmetic had been the same should be examined, and the results should present a marked variation, an analysis might bring other important facts to light.

In my conversations with superintendents and teachers, I found the opinion current among them, that the matter was so thoroughly involved that under no circumstances could researches of this nature lead to any definite knowledge. I agree that deductions drawn from narrow premises would be of no scientific value ; but I fully believe that the root of the trouble could be found, if the investigations were sufficiently extended. Indeed, the case would begin to assume a very favorable aspect for correct deductions, if we should succeed in finding 100 teachers who had used, each day, only 30 minutes of the child's time to reach a certain point in arithmetic, while, in the case of 100 other teachers, 60 minutes had been used to reach the same results. It would, in my opinion, be absurd to declare that absolutely nothing could be learned even from such a discovery. If the matter should be complicated by a dozen different influences, the pedagogue, if desirous of being classed with the scientist, must not give up the case as hopeless, but must endeavor to get to the bottom of the matter, by differentiating the causes ; just as the physician brings all his thought and all his objective methods into play when he is called upon to differentiate diseases which are not obvious at the first glance.

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He questions the patient ; he uses the thermometer ; he thumps the chest and listens to the sounds of the heart and lungs ; he subjects the bodily fluids to microscopic examination ; he tests the muscles with the electric current ; and thus, and in other ways, he is able to make a diagnosis which could not be made offhand. The broad questions involved in the teaching of the 3 R's are not one bit more complicated than the matter of medical diagnosis ; and, by exercising the same care as the medical profession in the development of delicate devices for the study of the minutest details, educators will learn to differentiate pedagogical troubles, now so completely veiled in mystery.

A careful analysis will show that the complications which must be taken into account in the study of results may be separated into four major factors ; viz., (1) time devoted to a subject ; (2) methods ; (3) degree of efficiency of teachers ; and (4) differences manifested by the children, which vary the conditions under which teachers labor.

It is now generally believed by educators that the last-named factor in itself forms an insurmountable barrier to any reliable deductions from results,—a very convenient theory, by the way, because it enables the teachers to place the blame for all shortcomings on the peculiarities of the children in their particular class-rooms. In my opinion, however, this obstacle is not at all difficult to surmount. To overcome it we must simply be careful to select those schools for comparison where the conditions bear a close resemblance to each other, *i.e.*, where the classes of children are practically alike. While, in view of the generally accepted belief that a school in the slums—where the nationalities are mixed and the pupils suffer from unfavorable home surroundings—cannot accomplish what can be done in a school situated in a well-to-do district and attended by pupils of American parentage, it might not be fair to compare the two on the same basis, it would, nevertheless, be perfectly fair to compare the results obtained in the poorest district of one of our large cities with those obtained in the poorest district of another. For scientific purposes, it might be judicious to divide the schools of the larger localities into three or four sets,—the well-to-do, the middle class, the mixed, and the poor,—and to compare the results upon this basis.

Such a division, moreover, by affording us an opportunity to compare the results secured in the different classes of schools in the same city, might serve to give us a definite idea as to the extent of the influence of nationality and environment, and thus teach us how much

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allowance, if any, we are justified in making to the schools attended by the poor. If we can discover the constant variation, we shall be able to make our demands as definite in the one class of schools as in the other. In my own examinations the results pointed to the conclusion that the influence of these extraneous factors has been very much overestimated, and that poor results in poor districts indicate a neglect of the poor children, rather than their inability to keep pace with the others. This was admirably illustrated by the fact that the highest results in spelling—33,000 children in all having been examined—were secured in a school where the vast majority of the pupils were children of Bohemian working-men. The variations in the capacity of the pupils of individual classes do not constitute much of a disturbing element in this method of research, because such variations are common to all class-rooms.

In spite of all the modifying influences that were considered in my studies, one point could be read between the lines of my tables from start to finish; namely, that the results in a subject did not bear a close relation to the amount of time devoted to it, and, therefore, that the time to be set aside for the 3 R's could be materially reduced without detriment to the results. Any statement as to the reason for this circumstance must, of course, be purely speculative. Nevertheless, I shall venture to offer one which a perusal of my tables will fully justify; viz., that the powers of mental assimilation are limited, and, consequently, that, regardless of methods, time devoted to a subject, beyond a certain point, is wasted. This means, in other words, that, all other things being equal, three hours a week given to a subject might lead to the same results as five.

Fundamentally, this conclusion is not unique: it is simply in accord with that of psychologists who have studied the phenomenon of fatigue in school-children, and, for that matter, with the lesson taught by ordinary observation, that it does not pay to work after the point of fatigue has been reached. But, practically, there is this difference between the orthodox method of studying fatigue and the method of research I have suggested; viz., that the facts brought to light by the former merely indicate that the line must be drawn somewhere, while those obtained by the latter are of a nature to demonstrate just where the line shall be drawn, and this so clearly as not only to serve as a guide to all teachers, but to carry conviction to the ordinary citizen.

It will no doubt be urged that the proposed method of research is both costly and laborious. Two questions, therefore, remain to

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be considered; viz., (1) Who will defray the expense? and (2) Who will do the work?

The expense, in my opinion, as I have already intimated, ought to be borne by the National Educational Association. This organization has ample funds at its command to prosecute the work with vigor; and none of its members could find fault if the Association should spend its entire net income upon work intended to further the cause of scientific pedagogy.

In reply to the second question, I would suggest the employment of a number of young graduates in pedagogy, who would look upon the task in the light of a post-graduate course, and would, therefore, be glad for science' sake to devote their time to it for a very moderate compensation. Judging by my own experience, I should say that a great deal of work could be done each year, if only three or four interested persons should give all their time to examining children in different cities; marking papers from many points of view, and tabulating the items in proper statistical form.

To insure systematic progress, I would suggest the establishment of a bureau, to which the papers could be sent, and where the mechanical work might be performed at leisure. A bureau of this nature would, no doubt, in a very short time become a veritable pedagogical centre. To increase its opportunities, interested superintendents and teachers throughout the country would, I believe, be glad to place themselves in touch with it, by undertaking all kinds of tests on their own account, in their own and in neighboring localities, and by sending the papers with detailed information to headquarters, for further study and tabulation. And the work itself is destined to prove so fascinating and instructive that there would be no trouble in finding any number of teachers and students who would volunteer to assist at headquarters, during leisure hours, without pay. A discussion of the results of the labors of a year might be made a feature of each annual meeting of the Association.

If, in the course of a few years, the nature of the work should prove as profitable as I have every reason to believe it will, steps might be taken by the National Educational Association, if the organization so desired, to have the bureau taken over by the Government and made a part of the Bureau of Education, or merged into the Smithsonian Institution as one of its numerous departments of scientific research.

J. M. RICE.

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ENGLAND'S DECADENCE IN THE WEST INDIES.

THAT within ten years the world has entered upon a new stage of development seems self-evident; and it appears equally self-evident that the spot where the old system has broken down lies in the West Indies. But when another step is taken, and the causes are sought which have led to the decay of the archipelago of the Caribbean, we enter upon some of the most absorbing problems of modern civilization.

Before attempting to examine details, it may be simpler to look for a moment at first principles. We may assume, as an axiom, that men, like other animals, must be capable of obtaining their subsistence under the conditions to which they are born; for, if incapable, they must starve. We must also assume that the individual, to prosper, must have the flexibility to adapt himself to the changes going on about him; for, if he be rigid, he will be superseded by some one more adaptable. Hence, human customs, laws, and empires probably owe their rise and fall to the exigencies of that competition for food which, from the beginning, has sifted those destined to survive from those doomed to perish. Consequently, society can never reach a permanent equilibrium: nothing can be constant but change.

The deduction from these premises is, that the decline of the West Indies must be due to an inability on the part of the population to keep pace with competition. The causes of this failure may be complex: but in the end, the failure itself must represent a relative loss of energy; and it is with this loss of energy that we now have to deal.

If it be true that the English who, as well as the Spanish, inhabit the Western tropics are ceasing to be able to hold their own in the struggle for life with other races, the effects cannot fail to be far-reaching. At the outset, for example, one of two results must apparently follow: either this whole region must be absorbed in some more adaptable economic system, or it must sink to the level of Haiti. At present, the drift is toward the United States. But for the United States to assimilate and administer this mass successfully,

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implies a simplification and centralization of her own administrative system; and no forecast as to whither a further consolidation of the Republic would lead is now possible. Nevertheless, that such a consolidation is now actually going on about us is highly probable; wherefore, the study of the sequence of events which has determined the ruin of some of the fairest gardens of the earth should interest Americans, since their own destiny may be inexorably linked with that of a dependency which they may be constrained to absorb.

Down to the battle of Waterloo, perhaps no landed property had ever proved more profitable than the sugar estates of the Caribbean; and before the advent of the East Indian nabob the West Indian planter filled, in the popular fancy, the figure of the ideal millionaire. Judged by modern standards, his profits might indeed be called fabulous. Tooke's tables of prices begin with 1782; but, as the years from 1783 to 1789 were peaceful, the interval probably represents fairly enough the ordinary trade of the last century. Between 1782 and 1789 Muscovado sugar ranged somewhat above £36 the ton; during the next ten years the war forced it to about £60; and as late as 1815 it brought £63. These values are tolerably reliable; but it is harder to fix the cost of production. In those lavish days management was loose, and nobody knew precisely what he spent; but, judging by the expense involved in the old processes,—still in use on many of the islands,—there seems no reason to suppose that Muscovado cost the competent planter, as a rule, much more than £20 a ton to produce. On the other hand, he may have worked more cheaply, since he used slave labor. At this time, also, and down to about 1850, colonial sugar paid less than half the duty levied on foreign products under the British tariff, and therefore held a practical monopoly of the home market.

Reckoning rum and molasses as part of the sugar crop, a good estate, well handled, might yield nearly the equivalent of three tons to the acre; therefore, the net profit in ordinary seasons approximated £50 the acre, and during war, £120. In other words, one of the small Barbados plantations of two hundred acres of cane represented an income of $50,000 as a minimum, and $120,000 as a maximum.

Modern expansion began with the English industrial revolution, dating from about 1760. To both the east and the west the world lay open; and competition could gain small purchase on prices in a society growing so vigorously that it could absorb far more than

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it could produce. That era reached its climax with Waterloo; and during that era the West Indies enjoyed their highest fortune. As Dr. Morris has rather sadly observed, in his recent report[1] to the British Government:

"Jamaica had nearly attained the meridian of its prosperity in 1787, just one hundred and ten years ago. It would be useful to contrast the quantity and value of its exports [then] with the exports of to-day:

Product.	1787.	1896.
Sugar	42,028 tons.	22,995 tons.
Rum	2,543,025 gallons.	1,881,100 gallons.
Molasses	6,416 gallons.	.....
(Other items are omitted.)		
Total value	£2,283,728	£1,775,016."

In 1805, nevertheless, when the war had raised prices 50 per cent, Jamaican trade dwarfed even this showing. In that year she actually sold 150,352 hogsheads of sugar, and more than 5,000,000 gallons of rum; the price of a ton of Muscovado sugar being £53, while 4*s*. 9*d*. was paid for a gallon of rum. In 1897, raw sugar brought £9 13*s*. the ton, and rum 1*s*. 4*d*. the gallon. Indeed, from 1790 onward for a quarter of a century, the gains of England on all sides were prodigious; for she kept Continental Europe under blockade, and exacted what prices she pleased for imports. Many tropical products, for example, such as spices and sugar, which had become almost necessaries, could only reach France by water; and, as England held the sea, she imposed her own terms on all the territory occupied by the French. During those years the tide of commercial exchanges reached its flood in favor of the United Kingdom; and then she amassed much of those unprecedented accumulations on whose income she has of late relied to balance the growing trade-deficit caused by her purchases of foreign food. Yet, even in the moment of victory, and, perhaps, because of the completeness of her triumph, Great Britain laid the seeds of a competition which has since gnawed her vitals,—a competition which has, moreover, ruined the West Indies, formerly the flower of her empire.

Since the dawn of history two forms of centralization, evolved through different processes of transportation, have contended for supremacy. The one, which may be called the Continental system, based upon the highway, found its amplest expression in Rome: the

[1] Report of the West India Royal Commission, Appendix A, p. 139.

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other, which may be described as the Maritime, is the offspring of the sea, and has served as the vehicle for the consolidation of that economic system which has centralized the modern world, and whose heart has been London. Before the discovery of the compass and the quadrant made the ocean navigable, the Continental system usually predominated. From the Crusades to the collapse of France in 1870, the Maritime had the advantage. Recently, the railroad, by bringing the cost of land- and water-carriage nearer an equality, has tended to inflame the conflict, without, as yet, deciding the victory.

The Continental system became incarnate in Napoleon. Generations in advance of his age, with the eye of genius he saw that between movement by land and movement by water there existed a rivalry which could know no other arbiter than battle; and he fought to the end. Feeling the coil of the blockade slowly strangling him, he strove to make his country self-sufficing, while striking at the vitals of his enemy. Rightly regarding the distant dependencies as the members which fed the heart at London, he contemplated a march upon India by land at the same time that he attacked the sugar islands by a policy more insidious and deadly than open war.

From an early period Bonaparte speculated on the possibility of making sugar from the beet; and in 1808 he wrote to scientific men pressing them to investigate the subject. In 1811 he had become certain of success; and early in that year he outlined, for his Minister of the Interior, a policy of state encouragement of the domestic sugar industry which, in substance, has been adopted by the chief Continental nations, and which survives to this day. In one paragraph the Emperor declared, "that, by thus employing a small acreage, France might succeed in escaping the tribute she paid to foreigners."

Yet even Bonaparte failed to grasp the full bearings of the system of retaliation which he invented, and which was destined, before the century closed, to play a chief part in the recentralization of the world. He fell almost immediately; and the progress of competition is slow. In 1828 the French sugar production reached only 6,665 tons; in 1836, 49,000; in 1847, 64,000; nor was it until after 1850, when the Continent had begun to feel the acceleration of movement caused by the railroad, and the English had opened their markets to the bounty-fed product, by establishing uniform duties on foreign and colonial sugar, that the manufacture attained 100,000 tons. Then, however, the advance became rapid; and in 1862 England imported

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40,000 tons of her rival's produce, against 193,000 drawn from the colonies of the Caribbean Sea. In 1871, when Germany took the place theretofore held by France, the plantations already lagged behind: in that year England imported 232,000 tons of Continental beet, as against 213,000 of West Indian cane.

This gradual occupation of the French market, and this invasion of the English, caused a regular fall in the price of sugar and its derivatives, in spite of the gold discoveries of 1849, which raised all other values. In discussing the interval between 1850 and 1862, Jevons, in his "Investigations in Currency and Finance," p. 55, has remarked:

> "Sugar and spirits stand out as the only two obstinate and real exceptions to a general rise of prices; but again, as Jamaica rum, quoted for spirits, is made from sugar, they might be said to form only a single exception."

Although in 1870 the vigor of France had long been on the ebb, the French attack proved serious. In 1858 Muscovado sold for 27*s.* 10*d.* the hundredweight; in 1867, when German consolidation began, it had dropped to 22*s.* 4*d.*; and in 1868 the long Cuban convulsion opened which has lasted till to-day.

The migration eastward of the centre of the Continental system, whose focus, under Napoleon, had been at Paris, occasioned the rise of Germany. But, though the capital city might change, the instinct of the centralized mass remained constant; and the Emperor of Germany, in assuming the position of the Emperor of France, assumed his methods and his attitude toward England. The chief difference between the two civilizations lay in a difference of energy.

The figures which tell of the impact of this new Power upon its maritime rival may well be called dramatic. Within less than a generation from the coronation at Versailles of the German successor of Napoleon, English sugar had been substantially driven from the English market, the West Indies had been ruined, Cuba had been ravaged with fire and sword, Spain had been crushed by the United States, the United States had been thrown upon the coast of Asia, and the world had been sent plunging forward toward a new equilibrium. Meanwhile, sugar had been forced down to £9 a ton.

In 1873 the total export of beet sugar from France and Germany stood thus: France, 221,000 tons; Germany, 24,000 tons. In 1896 the imports into England alone stood thus: From France, 143,000 tons; from Germany, 755,000 tons. In 1871 England imported 455,962

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tons of cane and 232,850 of beet; in 1896, 382,000 tons of cane and 1,144,000 of beet.

Witnesses testified before a commission in London that, during recent years, the refining trade had undergone a "progressive process of extinction," and that whereas it then produced wealth to the extent of £2,000,000 a year, it would, if healthy, yield £6,000,000.[1]

Taken in all its ramifications, this destruction of the sugar interest may, probably, be reckoned the heaviest financial blow that a competitor has ever dealt Great Britain, unless the injury to her domestic agriculture by the fall in the price of wheat be esteemed a loss through competition. Roughly, it may be computed somewhat as follows:

Assuming that, toward 1880, the British West Indies exported, in round numbers, 300,000 tons of sugar, 10,000,000 gallons of molasses, and 5,000,000 gallons of rum, and calculating the profit on the basis of 1787, we reach a total of about £5,000,000 for sugar, and of, perhaps, £2,000,000 more for molasses and rum. This £7,000,000 has been obliterated. To this must be added the shrinkage of purchasing power for new machinery, clothes, and food, which are reckoned under the head of "Cost of Production," the diminution of freights, the decay of the home refining trade, and the blight of the whole archipelago, more especially the complete arrest of the growth of wonderful islands like Dominica and St. Lucia, now almost wildernesses, and of the vast province of Guiana, capable of being turned into one of the most fruitful portions of the earth—"At once the largest and most valuable of the British West Indian colonies, [whose] capabilities of development are practically unlimited."[2] What such a check has meant to Great Britain is beyond human computation. In the words of a pamphlet of the last century:

"Our sugar colonies are of the utmost consequence and importance to Great Britain. They have been equal to the mines of the Spanish West Indies, and have contributed in a particular manner to the trade, navigation, and wealth of this kingdom."[3]

Without dispute, whatever might have been done, sugar must have fallen in value; but these questions are always questions of degree. Had the mother-country protected the interests of her colonies so far as to keep them on an equal footing with their competitors, that is to say, had she counteracted by her tariff the advantage

[1] Report of West India Royal Commission, Appendix C, vol. i, part 1, pp. 153–4.

[2] Report of Dr. MORRIS, Appendix A, p. 83.

[3] "The Importance of the Sugar Colonies to Great Britain" (1731), pp. 35–6.

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given by Germany to her exporters by subsidies, the decline in price might not have exceeded economies made possible by improved machinery and concentration of property. According to the witnesses before the West India Royal Commission, the cost of manufacturing a ton of sugar has been reduced, within twenty years, from about £18 to £8 or £10 a ton.

Germany has not ruined the West Indies by legitimate competition, but by an adherence to Napoleon's policy of attack, which was a military measure. For nearly three generations the chief Continental nations have, with hostile intent, artificially stimulated the export of sugar, and have increased the stimulant as prices have fallen, in order to counteract the loss to the manufacturer. In August, 1896, Germany and Austria doubled their bounties: in the following spring France advanced hers. Admitting, therefore, the success of Napoleon's war policy, one of the most interesting problems of our time is the cause which has rendered England vulnerable to this onslaught; for the course of civilization promises to hinge on the ability of Great Britain to maintain the economic ascendancy she won at Trafalgar and Waterloo.

If space permitted, nothing would be easier than to demonstrate that, although in 1815 London was the heart of the Maritime system, the United Kingdom did not achieve an undisputed economic supremacy until about 1835. Moreover, the supremacy was short; lasting only a generation, and ending with the rise of Germany in 1870. There is no mistaking this period; for it bears, in its thought, its literature, its art, and its public policy, the impress of the force which created it. It was the age of the Manchester School, of Cobden, of Bright, and of Mill. But Cobden, Bright, and Manchester doctrines were phenomena which attended the advent of a new ruling class. A social revolution, which had been in progress for nearly a century, was consummated between 1840 and 1850; England passed from a rural into an urban community; and immediately a new era opened. The opening of this era is marked with equal clearness upon the pages of the Census and of the Statute-Book. In 1841 the urban population of England and Wales numbered 7,679,737 souls; the rural, 8,229,395. In 1851 the urban population had increased to 9,213,942; the rural, only to 8,713,667. In 1846 Peel's Administration repealed the Corn Laws: in 1848 Lord John Russell's Administration equalized the sugar duties, by putting colonial and foreign sugar on the same footing.

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The power of the ancient rural population fell in 1846, with the repeal of the Corn Laws; and this event marked the rise of a new social stratum to control, who thenceforward used the machinery of government, as rulers always use it, for their own advantage. Inertia is, however, the bane of every aristocracy, be it an aristocracy of the rich or of the poor. By nature, man is lazy, working only under compulsion; and when he is strong he will always live, as far as he can, upon the labor or the property of the weak. The Romans fed themselves by taxing the provinces after their conquest, and degenerated; the Spaniards decayed when they could empty the mines of Mexico and Peru at no further sacrifice of energy than exterminating the natives; and slaveholders are notoriously indolent. So it has been, in a greater or less degree, with the British industrial class. The industrial population consists of two sections, the wage-earners and the capitalists,—sections hostile to each other, but apt to be united against those whom they can coerce. Certainly, they have always been at one in demanding cheap food,—the capitalists, that wages might not rise; the hands, that they might live at ease. To attain their end they have consistently sacrificed the farmers, as the Romans sacrificed the provincials; and the West Indian planters have but shared in the general agricultural ruin.

The human mind is so constituted that whatever benefits an individual seems to that individual to benefit the race; consequently, institutions like slavery and polygamy, and trades like usury, piracy, and slaving, have never lacked defenders on moral grounds. Analogously, the English have justified the practical confiscation of the sugar estates, on the ground that, though the planters might be ruined, the nation at large enjoyed cheap sugar, thereby reaping a preponderating economic advantage. Nevertheless, eliminating abstract justice, as never having decided public policy, it is not clear that the English, as a community, have reaped any economic advantage from cheap sugar; while, on the other hand, they have certainly lost by the destruction of the colonies. A few figures will make this proposition plain.

In 1869, before the collapse of France, and when the sugar islands were still relatively prosperous, Englishmen consumed, on the average, 42 pounds of sugar *per capita*, annually. That this is enough for either health or reasonable enjoyment is proved by the fact that few peoples use so much to-day. For example, in 1896 Italy consumed 7.19 lbs. *per capita;* Spain, 12.67 lbs.; Austria-Hungary,

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16.84 lbs.; Belgium, 22.8 lbs.; Germany, 27.14 lbs.; and France, 28.24 lbs.

In the United States, where the use of sweets is said to be injuriously excessive, only 35 lbs. *per capita* were consumed in 1869, and 61 lbs. *per capita* in 1898. In England during 1895–97 every human being, including babies, invalids, and paupers, disposed, on the average, of nearly 4 ozs. of sugar a day, or 84.77 lbs. a year. In other words, each citizen spent for sugar in those years almost exactly what he spent in 1869, the difference being that he doubled an already ample allowance.

Furthermore, neither from the economic nor the sanitary standpoint do the uses to which this extra sugar ration is put seem satisfactory. One of the chief of these appears to be to encourage drinking. Though the exports of beer from England show a tendency to decline, brewing grows apace. Twenty-seven gallons a year *per capita*, counting women and children, is surely enough. In America, though the amount of spirits drunk is the same, 15½ gallons of beer suffice; and American beer is light. Twenty-seven and one-quarter gallons was the measure for England in 1883; yet in 1897 it had swelled to 31½ gallons, an expansion at the rate of about 1 per cent a year. But, fast as brewing grows, the weight of sugar used in the beer grows faster. In 1883 the public put up with something less than 4¾ lbs. of sugar to the barrel: in 1897 it demanded between 8 and 9 lbs.

The same tendency toward extravagance appears throughout the list of imported articles of food. The ordinary citizen buys 63 per cent more foreign bacon and ham, 58 per cent more butter, 162 per cent more beef, and 1 lb. more tea annually than he did fourteen years ago. Yet, in 1883, Britons had not the reputation of being underfed.

This spread of self-indulgence would be without significance were it accompanied by a corresponding accretion of energy; but the industrial class of England has never learned that a larger cost of living must find its compensation in additional economy in production. On the one hand, trade unions have enforced shorter hours and withstood labor-saving machines: on the other, capitalists have failed to consolidate entire trades under a single management, and thereby to reduce salaries and rent to a minimum.

Perhaps no better gauge can exist of the energy of a great industrial and exporting nation—especially a nation like England,

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which has practically attained its full internal development—than the amount of its *per capita* exports taken through a series of years. The subjoined table shows that, while Germany has remained stationary, and America has bounded forward, England, during the last generation, has retrograded.

TABLE SHOWING PROPORTION *Per Capita* OF THE EXPORTS OF MERCHANDISE OF THE UNITED KINGDOM, THE UNITED STATES, AND GERMANY, DURING THE PERIOD 1869–1897.

Year.	United Kingdom.			United States.	Germany.		
	£.	s.	d.	Dollars.	£.	s.	d.
1869	6	2	7	7.29			
1870	6	7	11	9.27			
1871	7	1	7	10.83			
1872	8	1	0	10.55	Data	for	these
1873	7	18	10	12.12	8	years	are
1874	7	7	9	13.13	in-	com-	plete.
1875	6	16	6	11.36			
1876	6	1	3	11.64			
1877	5	18	11	12.72	3	4	10
1878	5	14	1	14.30	3	7	9
1879	5	12	2	14.29	3	4	11
1880	6	9	5	16.43	3	4	10
1881	6	14	0	17.23	3	5	9
1882	6	16	10	13.97	3	10	0
1883	6	14	8	14.98	3	12	3
1884	6	10	6	13.20	3	10	0
1885	5	18	4	12.94	3	1	5
1886	5	17	2	11.60	3	3	8
1887	6	1	3	11.98	3	6	8
1888	6	7	2	11.40	3	8	5
1889	6	13	11	11.92	3	3	3
1890	7	0	7	13.50	3	7	4
1891	6	10	10	13.63	3	4	2
1892	5	19	3	15.53	2	19	9
1893	5	13	7	12.44	3	2	7
1894	5	11	5	12.73	2	19	6
1895	5	15	8	11.37	3	3	6
1896	6	1	8	12.11	3	7	5
1897	5	17	7	14.17	..	..	..

As often happens in war, Napoleon, when striking at his enemy, wounded his friend. For centuries Spain drew most of her resources from her colonies; and, as these dwindled in number, the pressure increased on those which remained. When the insurrection broke out in 1868, Cuba produced about one-half of the cane of the world; but for several years previously prices had ranged so low that produc-

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tion on the old basis ceased to be profitable. Accordingly, the concentration of property had already begun, and

"numerous American and English fortune-hunters, who had purchased large estates from impoverished Cubans, . . . had started sugar and tobacco growing on an improved system in various parts of the island." [1]

The planters thus evicted gradually came to form a class of broken men ripe for brigandage; and though, at the outbreak of the insurrection, certain of the leaders were persons of property and position who revolted against the maladministration of Spain, the discontent was always fomented by what amounted to a slow confiscation of the land.

The truth of these inferences may be demonstrated by the character of the war, which was always rural. The rebel armies, if such these marauders can be called, were composed partly of adventurers, who acted as officers, and partly of Negroes whose employment had gone with the devastation of the sugar estates. The towns never participated in the movement; and the vagrant bands who infested the hills and ravaged the plantations consisted

"of a horde of civilized and uncivilized adventurers, recruited from all parts of the island, and indeed from the four quarters of the globe; . . . the riffraff turned out of the neighboring islands, Americans, Mexicans, Germans, Italians, and even a few Englishmen." [2]

This convulsion lasted through nearly a generation; flickering out when business mended, and flaring up when it failed, until the death-blow came with the panic of 1893. Between 1893 and 1895 sugar sank about 30 per cent, and the death-agony began. The American public knows the rest.

But if the Spanish civilization in the West Indies has fallen amid blood and fire, the English shows every sign of decrepitude. Great Britain is a strong Power, and her police is irresistible; but the decay of her islands is admitted. Had England retained the energy of 1805, when her conferences with her enemies were conducted at spots like Trafalgar, she might not perhaps have bartered her heritage for a sugar-plum; but the society of 1870 saw life with different eyes from those of the men who fought the Napoleonic wars. Instead of being stimulated to ferocity by the Continental attack, the English took the bribe, and withdrew from the contest. Instead of accelerating their movement, they relaxed it.

[1] "Cuba Past and Present" (DAVEY), p. 80. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 102.

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The tendency of modern trade is toward consolidation, because the administration of the largest mass is the cheapest. This is pre-eminently true of sugar manufacture; for, above all forms of agriculture, sugar lends itself to centralization. The chief expense of the plantation is the mill to crush the cane; and the more cane that can be crushed by a single machine, the more economical is the process. Accordingly, the only limit to the size of the modern factory is the distance it pays to carry a bulky raw material; and this depends on the perfection of the transportation. Therefore, an energetic population, pressed by competition, would normally have concentrated property on a vast scale, and the Government would have addressed itself to providing universal cheap transportation,—presumably a state system, like that of Germany or Russia. The islands are well adapted to electric tramways running down the valleys to the ports, which could draw their electricity from central power-houses built on water-courses. At the ports the produce can be collected by coasters; and such is substantially the method of the Boston Fruit Company in Jamaica, which has been crowned with brilliant success. These phenomena are conspicuously lacking among the British. The only railroad of Jamaica has been built at vast expense over the mountains where nobody goes; and it charges prohibitive rates because, being bankrupt, it lacks rolling-stock to do its business. Thus, the farmers are forced to haul their crops along the roads, and are expected to compete with German bounty-fed beet, carried at a fixed minimum charge on state lines. The British Government has even gone further, and has discouraged quick transportation to America. Plant made a proposition to extend his service from Florida to Jamaica; but the offer was declined. Lastly, Great Britain, while abandoning the colonists to the Germans, has used them to support an exceedingly costly system of government, whose chief object has been to provide a long pay-roll and pension-list. This system has broken down. It has proved only less disastrous than that of Spain.

On the other hand, the native population has shown little recuperative energy. Instead of being consolidated, the estates have been abandoned when they ceased to pay, although throughout the islands well-handled and well-situated sugar lands have never yet proved unprofitable, and although both Government and people are aware that nothing can ever replace the sugar industry, both on account of its magnitude and of the employment it gives to labor.

Yet, when allowance has been made for West Indian inertia, the

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stubborn fact remains that the influx of fresh capital and fresh blood has been arrested by the fear of progressively increasing sugar bounties and correspondingly decreasing values. Men do not venture their fortunes in speculation when they know that the Power, which should protect them, has accepted a bribe to abandon them to an adversary bent on destroying the industry in which they are engaged.

The inference from these considerations is, that the British Empire in the Western tropics is disintegrating, and that it is disintegrating because a governing class has arisen in the Kingdom which, from greed, has compounded with its natural and hereditary enemy. The advent of this class has wrought great changes in the past, and is full of meaning for the future. Already it has precipitated revolt in Cuba, defeat for Spain, expansion for America, and corresponding decline for England. Should the future resemble the past, and the conditions of competition remain unchanged, the Caribbean archipelago must, probably, either be absorbed by the economic system of the United States or lapse into barbarism. Now the current sets toward America; and the absorption of any considerable islands will probably lead to the assimilation of the rest; for the preference of the products of any portion of the archipelago by the United States would so depress the trade of the remainder as to render civilized life therein precarious. Should the foregoing deductions be correct, it is evident that the expansion of the United States is automatic and inevitable, and that, in expanding, she only obeys the impulsion of nature, like any other substance. If the Republic moves toward further concentration, it is because the world about it moves; and if it changes its institutions, it is because the conditions of modern competition demand it.

A century ago, when communication was costly and slow, the capital cities of the two competing economic systems might lie side by side on the Seine and on the Thames, and they might approach each other thus closely because the spheres of which they were the centres were relatively small. Since then, as movement has quickened, these spheres have enlarged until the Continental, having stretched eastward overland until it has reached Manchuria, now seeks to consolidate all Northern and Eastern China. Meanwhile, the Maritime, leaving the North American continent in its rear, is drawing to itself the islands of the Pacific, is fortifying the approaches thereto, and is preparing to ascend the Yang-tse and the Ho-hang-ho.

But, in proportion as the bulk of the masses of which they were

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once the core has dilated, the position of London and Paris has become eccentric. Therefore, the foci of energy of modern society tend to separate, the one drawing toward the confines of Russia, the other gravitating toward America ; and, as they separate, competition adjusts itself to the new equilibrium. The burden of the struggle between the two systems is passing from the shoulders of Englishmen and Frenchmen, who have borne it in the past, to those of Americans and Germans, who must bear it in the future. Already, the heat generated by contact at the circumference of these rival masses presages possible war.

Furthermore, if America is destined to win in this battle for life, she must win because she is the fittest to survive under the conditions of the twentieth century. From the dawn of history, nature has always preferred those organisms which worked most economically at the time her choice was made. Men may be able to live most cheaply because they can conquer, confiscate, and enslave, like the Romans, or because they can toil longest on the least nutriment, like the Chinese ; but, among Western races, who vary little in tenacity of life, those have proved the most economical who have attained the highest centralization combined with the greatest rapidity of movement. Hence, if Americans are to outstrip their opponents, they must do so by having a compacter and more flexible organization and shorter and cheaper communications. On their side, Russia and Germany are exerting their whole strength. They hope to economize in their administration by reducing their armaments, just as we increase ours ; and they are completing a railroad to Peking, by which they propose to centralize the greatest mass of cheap labor in the world, on the spot where mineral resources are richest.

Nothing under the sun is stationary : not to advance is to recede ; and to recede before your competitor is ruin. Unless the Maritime system can absorb and consolidate mankind as energetically as the Continental, the relation which the two have borne to each other since Waterloo must be reversed.

The West Indies are gravitating toward the United States ; therefore, the West Indies must be consolidated, and the lines of communication with them be shortened and cheapened. Therefore, a canal to the Pacific must be built ; and Central America must become an integral part of the economic mass, much as Egypt has become a part of England in order to guarantee her communications with India. Lastly, adequate outlets for the products of this huge centre of energy

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must be insured; for, should production be thrown back on our hands by the closing of Asiatic markets to us, or should our industries be crippled by attacks such as those which have ruined the West Indies, we shall suffer from having been the weaker, and our civilization will wither like the civilizations which have preceded it.

If expansion and concentration are necessary, because the administration of the largest mass is the least costly, then America must expand and concentrate until the limit of the possible is attained ; for Governments are simply huge corporations in competition, in which the most economical, in proportion to its energy, survives, and in which the wasteful and the slow are undersold and eliminated.

BROOKS ADAMS.

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SOME LIGHT ON THE CANADIAN ENIGMA.

Out of the Queen's Diamond Jubilee two years ago came the knowledge that Canada was, in all things but name, an independent nation; that Great Britain not only was not desirous to hold her children across the sea in tutelage, but encouraged them to assert their manhood and their independence and to manage their own affairs. This attitude of the British Government was as startling to the Administration in Washington as it was important. The relations between the United States and the Dominion of Canada had for years been unsatisfactory; they had been a constant source of friction between the Washington and London cabinets; and more than once they had nearly led to ruptures. Washington, having only a superficial knowledge of Canadian affairs, regarded Canada as an overgrown boy whose youth is a protection from a man's just vengeance, but who is too old to be summarily punished. As a self-governing colony, Canada had the power to make laws to suit herself, no matter how objectionable they might be to the United States: as an integral part of the British Empire, the protests of the United States had to be addressed not to the Canadian Premier at Ottawa, but to the British Premier in London. In other words, Canada enjoyed all the advantages of independence and none of its responsibilities.

This was a constant thorn in the side of Washington. It came to be believed by Presidents and Secretaries of State and Members of Congress that Great Britain, while compelled to defend her spoiled child publicly, yet secretly longed to use the rod; and this belief inflamed the feeling existing against Canada. When, therefore, two years ago, Sir Wilfrid Laurier went to London, to bear Canada's tribute to her Queen, and, as a result of his visit, it was seen that Canada was ruled in Ottawa and not in Downing Street; when Sir Wilfrid offered preferential trade to Great Britain; and when, at his request, the Marquis of Salisbury denounced the commercial treaties with Germany and Belgium, it was notice to the world that Canada was no longer a ward, but had come into full possession of her heritage.

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Nearly all Americans (and, curiously enough, most Englishmen) make the mistake of regarding the Canadians as a homogeneous nation, and of considering them, although separated by 3,000 miles of ocean from the mother-land, as British in thought and sentiment. It is this false impression which has kept friction alive, and rendered impossible a complete settlement of many vexatious problems. Fortunately, the High Joint Commission, for the first time in the history of Anglo-Canadian-American negotiations, approached the questions at issue with such mutual tolerance and with so great a desire to accomplish results, that it is confidently hoped that the relations between the great republic at the south and the republic (in everything but name) at the north of the North American continent will be much more amicable in the future than they have been in the past, and will result in an enlarged and more profitable trade for both.

The Dominion of Canada, the largest of all the British possessions, spreads from the Atlantic on the east to the Pacific on the west; embracing a territory of more than 3,300,000 square miles, and sheltering a population exceeding 5,000,000. Politically united, and nominally a nation, socially (ethnologically almost) Canada is nearly as unhomogeneous as Austria-Hungary. It is true the conditions in the Dominion are not so bad as in the dual Empire, because in Canada there are only two recognized languages and three races (broadly speaking); while in the Austrian Empire some half-dozen or more languages are used, each the speech of a race naturally antagonistic to all the others. To Americans who know Canada as a vacation-ground only, to Englishmen to whom Canada is an absolute mystery and who associate it with furs, ice-palaces, and, in these later days, gold-mines and tales of marvellous adventure, this may seem a remarkable assertion. Canada, partly on account of her past history and partly by reason of her geographical position, occupies a unique place in the British Empire. In India, an Englishman, whether on the frontier of Afghanistan or in Madras, is always an Englishman, and he always talks English. It is the same in Australia, in Africa, in Egypt—everywhere in Greater Britain, in fact, except in Canada.

To understand this, take the map of the Dominion and run a line on the seventy-ninth degree of longitude west from Greenwich, and another, bisecting Lake Superior, on the ninetieth degree. This divides Canada into three parts, leaving out, for the time being, Newfoundland and Nova Scotia. The eastern division, the Province of

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Quebec—the New France of Louis XV, the theatre of some of the most glorious deeds of British valor—is to-day almost as French as it was when Bigot filled the coffers of the Grand Company and purchased the Pompadour's friendship by a share of the plunder. Between Louis and his mistresses on the one side, and Bigot and his pack of thieves on the other, the bravery of Montcalm was powerless. Wolfe, dying on the Plains of Abraham, saw the Fleur-de-lis trailed in the dust. But, though the white banner of France has bowed to the blood-red cross of St. George; though for a hundred and fifty years Englishmen and English laws have administered the Province of Quebec; though against the common enemy Quebec stood loyal when Montgomery, attempting to be a second Wolfe, fell as he gallantly led the attack for the revolting American colonists, Quebec to-day, in thought, in language, and in religion, is French. The population of the Province, at the Census of 1891, was 1,488,535, of whom 1,186,346 were French-speaking Canadians and 1,291,709 were Roman Catholics. In the whole Dominion there were only 1,404,974 French Canadians.

Leave Quebec for the time, and travel into the Province of Ontario. Here there is a different atmosphere. In the city of Quebec one hears more French than English: in Montreal the two languages are used with equal freedom. Following the sun, French is left behind. In Ontario, except on the border, French is seldom heard. Toronto, the chief city of the Province, the commercial capital of Canada, is neither French nor English: it is American. It is laid out like an American city; its buildings are planned on the American model; its people have the look, the manner, the nervous energy of Americans. Going west from Toronto, until the third division is reached, the traveller is constantly reminded of the United States. West of Lake Superior the scene once more changes. From the Lake to the ocean he sees England written everywhere. The men are English in appearance and manner,—they are not like the easy-going men of Quebec or the energetic men of Toronto. To Manitoba and British Columbia come the men, many of them the cadets of well-connected British families, who are engaged in farming and ranching, who lead healthy, vigorous lives spent in the open, and who have naturally good constitutions, or soon become hardy under the tonic influence of that bracing climate. They come direct from the old country. Home to them is always "across the water"; and London is ever the centre.

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With the Quebecker it is different. He was born there ; he will die there ; and his world is his Province. The Ontarian is more often than not an *émigré ;* but it was many years ago he left his native country. Business relations bring him in close touch with the United States. American politics are almost of as much consequence to him as to his brother across the border : the fate of parties may mean the difference between a profitable market in the Great Republic and a Chinese Wall of Protection which he finds it impossible to surmount. In his view, Washington holds his fate—at least his material interests—fully as much as does Ottawa. Your Canadian of the West, however, is a different man ; and his interests are in London, rather than in New York or Washington or Ottawa. He is principally engaged in raising wheat or cattle, in mining, or in canning salmon. Liverpool or London furnishes him the quotations. It makes very little difference what the American tariff is ; whether there is a so-called Democratic Free-Trade Administration in Washington, or a Republican high-tariff one, or whether Laurier or Tupper rules in Ottawa. England must buy wheat and cattle ; British Columbia gold is at par the world over ; and tariffs worry him not in the least.

The pastimes of a nation are often the surest index of its character. I was forcibly struck by the fact that in Halifax the young men talked and played cricket ; in Quebec and Montreal the sport was lacrosse ; in Toronto, baseball. Athletic sports kept pace with national affinities. In Halifax, English sentiment prevails, and finds expression in the English game ; in Quebec and Montreal, where the sentiment is French-Canadian, we naturally find the national game of Canada ; and in Toronto, where everything is American, what more appropriate than that the historic twenty-two yards should give place to the diamond ?

To solve the Canadian enigma further, one must get from the blinding rays of royalty cast by the Jubilee, and examine more closely into social and racial conditions existing in the Dominion. It has already been shown that there are two separate and distinct races, and that, running side by side, there are three sentiments of loyalty—English, French, and American. One of my principal reasons for a visit to Canada two years ago was to ascertain the depth of Canadian loyalty to the mother-land and the British Crown ; to find out, from personal observation, whether the excitement of the Jubilee and the honors heaped upon Sir Wilfrid Laurier would leave any lasting impression, or whether, when the tinsel had been stripped

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and the lights turned down, the beautiful thing called Canadian loyalty would be found to be merely fustian. I found a strongly developed anti-American feeling; but the feeling of Canadians toward Great Britain was somewhat mixed. Canada at that time was anti-American (that was before an Anglo-American alliance had been suggested), because, in the minds of Canadians, America was supposed to be anti-British. Hence, one would say, Canada must be intensely loyal to the mother-country: it has almost the merit and force of a syllogism. This is all very pleasing on the surface; but it is misleading. Members of a family will stand together against an outsider; but between themselves they fight and resort to every expedient to gain their own selfish purposes. I do not mean to intimate that the Dominion has a grievance against England; but I do assert that Canada is a great deal more loyal to Canada than she is to Great Britain, that Canadian statesmen consider Canada first and England afterward.

Of course, one must understand that, when I talk of Canadian loyalty to England, I refer to the Canada of the middle zone, which, unfortunately, is the only part of the Dominion the average American or Englishman knows; and that knowledge is extremely superficial. He does not go to Quebec, and he rarely goes to the Far West; consequently, he does not understand that there are three Canadas. The Western Canadian, as I have said, is loyal to the mother-country,—generally a little more loyal and ardent in his attachment to British institutions than he was when he lived in England. In the Province of Quebec, with the exception of the very small percentage of the English-speaking population, the people neither care nor know what loyalty means. Why should they be more loyal to England than to France? In fact, speaking the language of France, professing the religion of that country, Gallic in habits, in thought, and in traditions, what more natural than that, in their secret hearts, they should loyally cherish the country of their forefathers? And yet, curious as it may seem, France means, to the average Quebecker, nothing except a language and a religion, not even an emotion. I probed as deeply as I could to ascertain this. I found no habitant of the Province of Quebec who entertained a sentimental affection for *la belle France*, whose pulses were stirred by the recollection of Montcalm and the White Lilies, or who regarded England as the despot whose iron heel was on his neck, or to whom the blood-red cross of St. George was the symbol of the conqueror. No:

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the man of Quebec is satisfied to accept traditions as he finds them ; and, apparently, he has not imagination enough to dream of the past or to hope for the future.

Englishmen flatter themselves that as colonizers they can learn nothing from the rest of the world,—that they have reduced to an exact science the art of assimilating outlying territory in the Great British Empire. But they have still something to learn from America. The United States denationalizes her immigrants by forcing them to learn and speak English. The German or the Hungarian or the Pole must understand English, if he would rise in America. He need not forget his mother-tongue ; but he must know that of the country of his adoption. And as the only language his children will hear in the public schools is English, it follows that the second generation, before reaching manhood, is, in thought and language, more American than foreign. Had England adopted this plan at Confederation, and made English the official language, Canada in general and Quebec in particular would be much better off materially, and the clash of two races and two tongues would not be a disturbing element in the situation. It is incongruous that an English lawmaking body should transact its proceedings in French and English, and that official announcements should have to be printed in both languages. I think no more important thing has been done in Canada since Confederation than the action of the Manitoba Government in refusing to recognize French as an official language ; and this means so much for the material welfare and advancement of the Province that no American, unless he be a close student of Canadian affairs, can appreciate its full significance.

Before leaving Quebec and her French population, there is one factor in the sociological equation which is of tremendous consequence, and which I approach with extreme diffidence. With a profound appreciation of all that the Catholic Church has been to the world in the past, and admitting that it is to-day a great instrument of civilization, humanity, and charity, the facts cannot be controverted that Quebec is priest-ridden, and that the Church is largely responsible for the lack of energy and enterprise which so conspicuously distinguishes the Province. The power vested in the Church —the legacy of two centuries—is so great, and ecclesiastical, civil, and feudal laws are so interwoven, that in Quebec a man must either be a Catholic or else see burdens of taxation, impossible to bear, imposed upon his property. A gentleman of the highest standing, with

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an international reputation, explained to me how it was possible to discriminate against the property of a non-Catholic ; but I need not elaborate that point here. I am firmly convinced that, so long as Quebec remains French in speech, and renders spiritual allegiance to Rome, it will be many years behind the rest of the Dominion.

Englishmen have been led to believe that Canada's loyalty would make the Dominion buy British goods, and give the preference to British wares, even if it involved some sacrifice on her part. That might have been true half a century ago, it might even have been true before Confederation ; but the Act which transmuted a series of scattered Provinces into a Dominion gave birth to a policy which was a political necessity. The Members of the first Canadian ministry after Confederation were Protectionists, moved by the same reasons which influenced Alexander Hamilton and the Federalists. In Canada as well as in the United States, it was the belief of statesmen that, unless domestic manufacturers were protected by a tariff against foreign competition, native industries would be crushed. The United States erected a barrier against England : Canada barred her southern border to check American imports. This policy worked fairly well for seven years ; but the Liberals were forced, as a party exigency, to advocate Free Trade in opposition to their political opponents. In the Dominion, even more than in the United States, the tariff is a party question. In Canada, unlike England, a man cannot be a Liberal or a Conservative on the question of the surrender or control of Egypt, or of the reversal or perpetuation of a traditional foreign policy, because Canada does not concern herself about international statecraft. There is no Silver question in the Dominion. The practical politician must rally his forces around the standard of Protection or of Free Trade.

The Conservatives having raised the banner of Protection, the Liberals, *nolens volens*, planted themselves in the citadel of Free Trade. Their policy was the antithesis of their rivals. The Conservative *raison d'être* for Protection was fear of American competition ; and, if incidentally Great Britain was discriminated against, it was unfortunate, but a minor evil compared with the beneficent results following from "Canada for the Canadians." The Liberals, on the other hand, maintained that, if Canadian products could find a market in the United States, the Canadian farmer and the Canadian manufacturer would profit thereby. It followed naturally that, when the Liberal Government came into power, in 1874, the Liberals

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negotiated a reciprocity treaty, which caused American public men to regard them as more friendly to the United States than the Conservatives. But Reciprocity did not prove the success expected. To this day it is often referred to as "jug-handled Reciprocity," and Canada is supposed to have had all the outpouring; while in the Dominion the Liberal Government was soon overthrown, and, with its downfall, the first chapter of Reciprocity was closed.

Sir John Macdonald came into power for the second time in 1878, with a mandate from the people to repair the breach made in the wall of Protection by the Mackenzie Ministry, and to buttress the foundation. The Free-Traders in the United States, who regarded Canadian reciprocity as one step in the direction of the realization of their hopes, could expect nothing from a Conservative Government; and, as the economic policy of the Conservative party was directly antagonistic to the United States, it followed, as a matter of course, that the entire policy of the Dominion under Conservatism was interpreted as being anti-American. It is true that, from time to time, Reciprocity was talked about: it was looked upon like some of the virtues—theoretically excellent, but extremely difficult of accomplishment. No really serious efforts were made to secure a reciprocal arrangement with the United States. Nor is this surprising, when one remembers what I have already said about the Americanization of the Province of Ontario. That Province, the richest, the most densely populated, and wielding the greatest influence of all the Provinces of Canada, was strongest in its opposition to Reciprocity, because the manufacturers looked upon it as merely the entering wedge for Free Trade. Under Sir John Macdonald's *national policy*, they had established themselves, and adjusted trade to existing conditions: a disturbance of the economic policy might produce serious consequences.

For thirteen years—in fact, up to his death—Sir John Macdonald held power. He has been well called the "Bismarck of Canada." Like the great German Chancellor, he had the same creative force and the same masterly genius for government. He found a disjointed set of Provinces, with hardly any connecting ties; and he welded them into a closely linked federation recognizing one central authority and having the germ of a national spirit.

Macdonald's personality was an inspiration to the cause of Protection, even as Napoleon's presence on the field of battle was worth more to his troops than a dozen additional regiments. It is idle to

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conjecture what might have happened, had Sir John's life been spared for another five years; but no one will deny that, the more firmly Protection became intrenched, the more active and determined became the efforts of its opponents. It is invariably the case in every great movement. A cause is either worth fighting for with all the vigor and zeal and devotion of which men are capable or else it arouses no enthusiasm, and at once ceases to be a question of the first magnitude.

The stronger the tendrils of Protection grew, the more necessary its opponents felt it to destroy the tree, root and branch. Protection, from the standpoint of Liberalism, was the handmaid of corruption, both in private and official affairs. It debauched the manufacturers by giving them a bonus which came out of the pockets of the people: it vitiated the public service by inviting extravagance and providing the means for scandalous jobs. From time to time the tariff was tinkered with,—even a rabid Protectionist may sometimes cater to public sentiment and profess to "lighten the burdens of the people,"—and Reciprocity was played with. At heart, however, Sir John was neither Free-Trader nor Reciprocist: in fact, as he declared in an interview about four years before his death, he was an Imperial Federationist, a firm adherent of "Greater Britainism." He looked forward to the day when, "With England as a central Power, with Australia and South Africa as auxiliaries, we (the Confederated British Empire) will control the seas; and the control of the seas means the control of the world." I have been told, and I can well believe it, that Sir John Macdonald looked far enough into the future to see the time when the United States would be the great commercial competitor of England. Surely, Sir John Macdonald, with his sturdy Imperialism and his devotion to the interests of Greater Britain, was not the man to help his great rival in the race for commercial supremacy. His entire policy was perforce anti-American, because, from his view-point, the interests of his country were antagonistic to those of his southern neighbor.

Up to the time of Sir John Macdonald's death, the Liberals talked Reciprocity: with his demise, they went a step further and advocated "commercial union," which soon became translated into annexation to the United States. A recent English writer has truly said that the Conservative party, after the death of its great Premier, collapsed because of a series of incompetent leaders and their blunders. But, while the Conservatives were dancing over a mine, there was no man

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in opposition shrewd or bold enough to fire the fuse. "Commercial union" was taken up as a rallying cry, and advocated with a good deal of persistency and ingenuity on both sides of the border, only to be cast aside as a half-way measure when annexation was the logical outcome and was as easy to be obtained as the other. I do not wish to be misunderstood. The Liberal party, as a party, or through its responsible leaders, did not advocate annexation, but Liberals were in favor of Free Trade, Reciprocity, Commercial Union, Annexation; party men, from the present Premier to Prof. Goldwin Smith, running the scale.

Had the Conservatives relinquished power at that time, the relations between the mother-country and her American colony might have been to-day entirely different from what they are. Events in the United States during the past few years have made Canadians —whether of Quebec or Ontario or the West, Liberals or Conservatives—regard annexation from another standpoint. At one time there was a glamour about annexation; and it looked like a short cut to prosperity. Now it has been stripped of its artificial coloring, and appears to be a thing to be avoided rather than embraced. There are, of course, some irreconcilables (Prof. Goldwin Smith, I believe, is one); but the bulk of the Annexationists of a few years ago are to-day perfectly content to forget that they figured as such.

But, while the Annexationists have dropped that cry, they still believe in the virtue of Reciprocity; and, so long as the United States offers a market for Canadian labor, there will always be a political agitation in favor of closer commercial relations between the two countries. Thousands—perhaps hundreds of thousands—of French Canadians have emigrated from the Dominion, and taken up their residence in the mill-towns of New England. Lowell, Lawrence, Nashua, in fact all the manufacturing towns of the Merrimac Valley, are thickly populated with French Canadians. Dr. Joseph Nimmo, formerly Chief of the United States Bureau of Statistics, testifying before a Senate committee in 1890, quoted Sir Richard Cartwright as having declared, in the Dominion Parliament in 1888, that there were then about 1,000,000 persons of Canadian birth residing in the United States, and that, during a period of twenty years, three-fourths of the foreign immigrants into Canada, or nearly 400,000, had crossed the line and settled in the United States. While I believe these figures to be exaggerated, the French-Canadian population of the mill-towns of New England is undeniably very large.

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Most of these operatives have done better in the United States than they would have done, had they remained in Canada ; and they believe that commercial union would be to the advantage of their compatriots across the border. These American French Canadians, in the general election of 1896, not only made money contributions to the Liberal cause, but many of their best speakers went into the Province of Quebec and raised their voices in behalf of the Liberal party and of the man of their own nationality. Undoubtedly, these speakers exercised considerable weight, and contributed not a little to Sir Wilfrid Laurier's success.

Sir Wilfrid promised the country, in case of his election, to revise the tariff and to endeavor to bring about closer commercial intercourse with the United States. Promptly, in accordance with his ante-election pledge, a new tariff was enacted,—not quite so radical in its reduction of duties as some of his supporters expected ;—but negotiations with this Government were found impossible. His overtures rejected, Sir Wilfrid turned to England, who, at the Premier's request, denounced her treaties with Germany and Belgium. This was hailed in England as a long step toward freer trade within the British Empire. It has since been discovered that this is a mistake, and that the economic policy of Sir Wilfrid Laurier is Canadian and not Imperial. Concessions are made to England because she opens a market to Canada ; but similar favors from Germany or the United States would meet with an equally ready response. In other words, Canada throws her market open to the highest bidder, and displays no foolish sentimentality in preferring a British sovereign to an American eagle. Sterling, dollars, marks, or francs—she will take them all.

British manufacturers, not knowing the facts, and deluded by the talk of Free Trade, believed that the markets of Canada would be thrown wide open to them, and that they had nothing more to fear from American competition. They have since been disillusioned. The Canadian market Canada guards ; and no more favors are extended to the English than to the people of any other nation. In fact, Canada to-day is more anxious to secure trade concessions from the United States than she is concerned about the British market. That market she will always have until England's traditional Free-Trade policy is reversed. So long as the wheat of Manitoba can compete in Liverpool with the wheat of the Dakotas and of Argentina, Canada need have no fear of not finding an English market. But it is different across her southern border. There is a natural outlet for

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many Canadian commodities, precisely as the Dominion offers a great field for the products and wares of the States lying along the border. Sincerely desirous as the Dominion has been to secure trade concessions from the United States, she cannot, as so many American public men imagine, be coerced into a suppliant or be driven to come to Washington with outstretched hands, ready to accept any crumbs that may fall from an overflowing table. A tariff framed to harass Canada, the passage of irritating Labor laws, interference with the bonding privilege—in short, a systematic policy of "pin pricking" has had the result diametrically opposite to that hoped for by its supporters. Plenipotentiaries who approach Canada with a treaty in one hand and a club in the other, who say to the Dominion, "Accept our treaty, or you will feel the weight of this club," seem to forget they are dealing with people of the Anglo-Saxon race—a people whose motto has always been, "Nemo me impune lacessit."

Evidently, the belief exists among certain American politicians that the short cut to the Canadian market is political union, and that political union can be accomplished by making life so uncomfortable for the Canadians that, as the only means of escape, they will throw themselves into our arms. I repeat, this is a mistake: it is a conception of Canadian character totally unwarranted. Canada is not to be won by the method pursued by the Romans toward the Sabines. If she is to surrender, it must be to gentler wooing. It is idle to expect that the Dominion will provide a market for American manufacturers at the expense of her own people: it is absurd to think she will close her custom-houses so long as the United States clings to the policy of Protection. Canada can manage to get along very well without the United States. Thanks to the beneficent effects of Sir John Macdonald's national policy, Canadian manufacturers are able to supply the wants of their own people. Practically, the Dominion need import nothing except those articles of luxury which the American continent cannot supply. But reciprocity between the United States and Canada would mean a trade large and profitable to both countries; a trade which we can have for the asking, if our statesmen will realize that Canada is a nation to be approached as an equal and not as an inferior; a trade which the present Premier, with far-seeing genius, has, on more than one occasion, shown his willingness to share with us.

A. Maurice Low.

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A NEW DEPARTURE IN RAILROAD MANAGEMENT.

THE opinion of the Supreme Court, dissolving the Joint Traffic Association and affirming the decree of like tenor in the Trans-Missouri case, may, so far as the railroads of this country are concerned, be fitly termed an epoch-making decision. It estopped those organizations from adopting rules for the maintenance of agreed rates for fare and freight, on the assumption that such action would be in restraint of trade. The correctness of that conclusion is not open to discussion, because, whether right or not *per se*, it is the judgment of the court of last resort, and must, therefore, be accepted as settled law. But, as the result necessitates a radical change in the policy to be pursued by railroad companies, and forces them to devise new measures to protect their properties, it may be well, before outlining what can be done in those respects, to review the principal plans that have been tried.

It is not proposed to treat of the inception of railroads and their evolution into the systems which traverse the populated areas of our continent; nor need we trace the conflict, sharp and prolonged, between the public and the carriers, as to the right of States to regulate the tolls to be collected by the corporations they had created. That question was settled in the Granger cases, so called; and the principle then enunciated has not been disturbed. What I do contemplate reviewing in part is, the methods which were resorted to by competing railroads to insure coöperation and avert loss in the transportation of traffic that was common to many.

In so doing, it should be pointed out that the usual effect of such concerted efforts was not, as is generally supposed, to raise rates, because, despite all that traffic compacts could or were intended to do, the tendency of railroad charges has been steadily downward. An exhibit so trite as to become monotonous is contained in the annual reports of many railroad companies, comparing the gross revenue received during the last year with the earnings which would have accrued, had the rate per ton per mile of a few years previous been obtained. As a matter of fact, if the rates of ten years ago could

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be applied to the various railroads of the country, and the subsequent economies in operating be retained, instead of the present dreary array of non-dividend-payers, scarcely any would be found in the unprofitable list! An average increase of one mill per ton per mile in the charges for the transportation of freight would obliterate the deficit in the operation of railroads in the United States during the last fiscal year, and leave more available for dividends than was paid on that account during 1897 or 1898.

The constant decline in freight rates was attributable to causes beyond the power of associations of common carriers to arrest. Undoubtedly, the reductions were more remarkable at sharply competitive than at local stations, or at places remote from water competition. But, even in less favored sections, comparisons with the practice at competitive centres resulted in material reductions. The principal agency, however, has been the multiplication of routes, greatly increasing the facility with which shippers, at points formerly considered far inland, have been enabled to reach river, lake, or ocean communication cheaply and quickly.

While these remarks apply more especially to surplus products of the soil consigned to foreign markets, they also pertain to a very considerable degree to merchandise carried westward for domestic consumption. Except in rare and isolated instances, the forces of competition, as hereinbefore described, have long operated to prevent the exaction of excessive or unreasonable rates. On that point the public need have no apprehension; for the conditions surrounding and affecting the various carriers by rail and water are such that the collection of extortionate rates of freight is manifestly beyond the ability of managing officers, even were they so disposed, to inaugurate and maintain.

For many years after the introduction of railways the latter were so disconnected that competition between them of a disastrous nature was unknown; but when the detached lines were united, and several companies strove for the traffic between widely separated cities, the necessity for uniformity in rates and methods became apparent, and agreements looking to that end were often made. At first, these rested on the good faith of the respective parties; but, as that proved an uncertain reliance, something more substantial had to be substituted. Thus, divisions of tonnage came to be formed.

Naturally, as each company claimed to desire only a fair share of the competitive traffic, those interested were drawn into agree-

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ments to divide the same in accordance with certain fixed percentages. It should, however, be remarked, that the practice had long prevailed in England, where such devices had been termed "joint-purse" arrangements. Neither in that country nor in this have they been sanctioned by law; although there was this difference, that in England the Solicitor-General gave an implied opinion in their favor, whereas in the United States no Federal or State authority had declared them valid.

The pioneer organization of noticeable magnitude was the so-called Omaha pool. It was formed in the year 1870, and comprised the three parallel lines between Chicago and Council Bluffs. Passenger as well as freight traffic was included; and as one railroad could then readily perform the passenger service, the roads alternated in running through Sunday trains. Originally, it was assumed that the cost of doing the business was 45 per cent for passengers and 50 per cent for freight. The accounts were settled monthly; and, deducting the percentages just stated, the remainder was divided equally. Subsequently, the arrangement was modified, so that the gross earnings from all passenger traffic carried eastward and from so much of the westward as originated at Chicago were divided equally between the parties. When the fourth company entered Council Bluffs it was admitted to an equal share in the business; and in like manner was the fifth, when its line was extended to the Missouri River. So long as the contract was tripartite, its affairs were administered by the general officers of the respective companies; but when the number of partners increased, a commissioner was elected, and the organization took its place with the other traffic associations which in the meantime had sprung into existence.

The most notable of the early compacts was the Southern Railway and Steamship Association, which was organized in 1875 on a plan outlined by Col. Albert Fink, Vice-President of the Louisville and Nashville Railroad. It included twenty-five different railroad and steamship companies, and was governed by an elaborate constitution. It prescribed the manner of conducting the business in which the parties were jointly concerned, methods for its equitable distribution between the interested railroads, and tribunals for the settlement of disagreements. Col. Fink remained with the organization six months, then started for Europe, but was stopped *en route* and induced to take charge of an association that had just been formed by the trunk lines to divide traffic from New York and

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other seaports, when destined to points west of Buffalo, Pittsburg, etc.

From the latter modest beginning sprang the formidable organizations which became known as the Trunk Line Association and the Joint Executive Committee. The last-named included the several initial lines and their connections west of Buffalo, Pittsburg, and Parkersburg, and east of the Mississippi River, and was ultimately called the Joint Committee. Later, it was found impracticable to conduct, from an office located in New York, the expanding affairs of the numerous lines east of the Mississippi and north of the Ohio; and the Central Traffic Association was accordingly formed, with Mr. George R. Blanchard as Commissioner. The legitimate offspring of the Trunk Line and Central Traffic associations was the Joint Traffic Association, whose history of less than three years has been the most prominent feature in recent railroad affairs.

Meanwhile, in October, 1876, the Southwestern Railway Association was formed, comprising the railroads extending from Chicago, Hannibal, and St. Louis to the four Southwestern Missouri River points—Kansas City, Leavenworth, Atchison, and St. Joseph. At the inception of this association, the writer was elected its secretary, which title was afterward changed to that of "commissioner"; and he remained with it through its several mutations until its dissolution in March, 1898. It was eventually enlarged to include the Omaha lines, also those to St. Paul and Minneapolis; so that in its later years it comprised the several railroads extending westward from Chicago and St. Louis to Missouri River points, and to the twin cities, and was known as the Western Freight Association.

Westward from the Missouri River to the Rocky Mountains was a territory served by railroads which, about ten years ago, were included in the Trans-Missouri Association—the organization attacked by direction of Attorney-General Miller as in contravention of the Anti-Trust Law, which contention was sustained by the Supreme Court, in March, 1897.

Still farther west, a compact was formed by the lines interested in traffic to and from the Pacific Coast, which was commonly known as the Transcontinental Association. Lastly, an organization of the railroad and steamship companies engaged in the transportation of freight to points in Texas was effected. This was called the Southwestern Traffic Association, and may be regarded as the latest of the larger associations by means of which it was proposed, by the

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principal carriers of competitive tonnage, to conduct their affairs in an orderly way.

The cardinal principle that underlay most of these organizations was either a physical division of the tonnage included or a distribution of the gross or net earnings in accordance with certain fixed percentages. Almost invariably, the attempts to agree upon the latter provoked dissatisfaction and wrangling. Frequently, recourse was had to arbitration ; and few were the men who could officially survive the enmities engendered by their awards. Each road claimed and was usually disposed to demand a percentage exceeding that which any impartial authority would accord to it. Furthermore, instead of promoting the maintenance of agreed rates, the incentive to swell their quota of tonnage, and thereon to base a claim for an increased allowance, was too great to be resisted by the ordinary traffic officer or his superior ; and when the balances thus accumulated became too large to defray readily, the creditor road would tighten the grip upon its holding, and, as the contracts were non-enforceable at law, there were no means at command to compel the repudiators to honor their obligations.

Nevertheless, with all their drawbacks—and those were neither few nor small—pooling agreements constituted the only device known to railroad men whereby an observance of agreed rates of fare and freight could be approximated. If the privilege of apportioning the traffic, or the revenue resulting therefrom, had been supported by the right to invoke the aid of the courts to compel specific performance, the results would undoubtedly have been much more gratifying. The expedient was constantly assailed, and a fair trial denied it, by reason of its assumed illegality, which presumption was confirmed when the Act to Regulate Commerce was passed, the fifth section of which prohibits pooling.

That law took effect early in 1887 ; and, in compliance therewith, those traffic associations which were predicated upon divisions of tonnage or earnings were either dissolved or their constitutions so amended as to eliminate all reference to pooling. Thereafter, earnest efforts were made to maintain established rates by means of agreements based upon the honor of the parties thereto. Penalties were prescribed for violations ; and those were to be assessed by boards of arbitration or by commissioners. The same difficulty was, however, encountered in the enforcement of penalties as had been experienced in the collection of balances accruing from over-carryings. If a man-

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ager declined to pay, or insisted that the fine had been unjustly imposed, the draft of the commissioner was returned ; and in that way essential features of the agreement were ignored. This was the frequent outcome of attempts to enforce duly assessed penalties ; and it led to their abandonment.

Demoralization in rates quickly ensued ; heavy losses were incurred ; and the latter attracted the attention of investors and their representatives. The result was a determination to take the rate-making power out of the hands of active officers of the roads, and to repose it in bodies that would be removed from the influence usually exercised by shippers. On that theory the Joint Traffic Association was formed ; and after it the Southwestern Traffic Association and the Western Freight Association were modelled. They were intended to be an innovation in railroad management, and certainly fulfilled such expectation up to the time the decision in the Trans-Missouri case was handed down. This decision deprived them (at least in the West) of any vital force ; and they subsequently dragged out a merely nominal and perfunctory existence. But little better was the career of the Joint Traffic Association, although it had a legal status until October, 1898, when the Supreme Court declared it also to be invalid.

Suffice it to say, in extenuation of these later organizations,—the outgrowth of demands that reckless waste and senseless strife should cease,—that, of all schemes which had been evolved, they afforded the very best protection to the small shipper against the large dealer. They created competent bodies whose entire time was devoted to the careful consideration of current traffic questions and to the solution, along broad and liberal lines, of numerous problems that perplexed railroad officers. In short, they were to constitute court and council for the elucidation of rules that should govern, in a methodical and reasonable way, operations which, in the absence of restraints, are left to the caprice of subordinates and the manipulations of shippers who aim to secure from transportation companies an advantage over their rivals in trade.

But the mandate has gone forth that railroad companies must not agree to maintain rates, even though the latter should be reasonable and alike to all, lest the public be deprived of the varying and reduced prices which must inevitably accompany unregulated competition. And yet, it is possible that the prudent public—those who achieve competencies, great or small, and desire safe and readily

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negotiable investments—outnumber the comparatively few who are benefited by a disastrous strife among railroads. Aside from the United States Government, there is no interest—financial or commercial—equal to that of the railroads.

The amount at which the 184,428 miles of railroad in the United States are capitalized is $10,635,008,074, or about $59,620 per mile; and their funded debt (consisting of bonds and other similar obligations) is $5,364,642,255. Of the outstanding stock 70.10 did not, in 1897, pay any dividend; while 16.18 per cent of the funded debt was in the same unprofitable category. Alongside these facts place the suggestive one, that 41.41 per cent of the cost of operating the railroads consisted of wages and salaries paid to employees—a total, for 1897, of $465,601,581. In other words, the companies disbursed $752,524,764 in the operation of the several railroads, which was 67.06 per cent of their gross earnings from all sources for the same period!

Should not the provident classes, then, be interested in the conservation of railroad properties? If the latter were protected by the Government—as other and less sensitive investments are—would they not offer the best security available to the careful public? Government bonds are beyond the reach of many, and, when obtained, return so low a rate of interest as to make them undesirable to men of small means; and as our Government does not establish Postal savings-banks (as the Dominion of Canada did years ago), where any citizen can obtain 4 per cent interest, wise statesmanship would suggest that railroad companies be enabled to proffer what the nation does not afford—ample negotiable investments at rates of interest that will promote thrift among the masses.

Unfortunately, Congress was so preoccupied last winter with pressing questions growing out of the Spanish War as to be unable to give attention to the urgent need of protection for the railroads, not alone from the standpoint of the corporations, but even more so from that of the industrious public. Doubtless, it was in the minds of railroad officers to petition for relief at the recent session; but it soon became apparent that such effort would not be successful. No remedial legislation can be obtained until the companies are agreed as to its character, are united and earnest in its demand, and, in return, are disposed to make reasonable concessions of authority to the Interstate Commerce Commission. Heretofore, there has not been unanimity in any of the respects named.

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The most advanced in railroad circles favor enlarging the authority of the Commission, so as to make that body what it was intended to be—a supervisory arm of the Government to correct inequalities in charges and service, and to insure those being made reasonable, uniform, and in no respect unduly preferential. They are unable to discover why the anomaly should continue of allowing certain shippers to dictate what they will pay for the transportation of their commodities, and, at the same time, refusing to a duly constituted branch of the National Government the necessary authority to enable it to intervene justly between the public and the railroads, at the instance and for the protection of either the people or the carriers.

Assuming, then, that railroad companies will, for some time to come at least, be thrown upon their own resources, what expedients are available for the prevention of rate wars in the struggle for competitive traffic? Recourse cannot be had to pools, nor to compacts to maintain agreed rates; therefore, something entirely different from what has heretofore been tried must be attempted, if confusion and loss are to be avoided. The urgency of the case, the vastness of the interests involved and their ramification, justify the adoption of measures which might otherwise be deemed audacious; for there can be no lasting or complete return to national prosperity while the largest single interest in the country is practically disabled. Under normal conditions, when the railroads are permitted to operate profitably, they are the chief employers of labor, the principal purchasers of iron and wood, and the best customers for numerous other products. If, however, they are forced to economize, the stress upon them is reflected in a reduction of the running-time of mills, manufactories, and kindred industries; and until those works are revived by a multiplicity of orders, trade in general will languish, capital in vast sums will continue to lie idle, real estate will be a burden, and armies of unemployed men will roam over the land or loiter in the cities.

While the decision in the Joint Traffic case prohibits railroads from agreeing to maintain established rates of fare and freight, it does not estop any of them from adopting the same tariff that a competitor may announce. A railroad is at liberty, under its charter, to publish such tolls as it may elect, and can enforce the same, subject only to the proviso that they shall be reasonable and not excessive or unduly preferential; hence, it would not contravene the aforesaid decision, were the charges thus stated to be identical with

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those promulgated by a rival company. The inhibition lies against associations of common carriers agreeing to maintain certain fixed rates, because such procedure would tend to stifle competition.

At the same time, the Court referred to the good sense of the managers, which, it was presumed, would suffice to avert unseemly strife between competing carriers; thus anticipating my point, that the chartered right to prescribe reasonable rates, determined in the manner hereinbefore stated, necessarily involves the authority to require their strict observance. Thus, it would be entirely competent for the highest traffic officer of a given road to insist upon strict conformity, by his subordinates, with the company's published charges; and the fact that, in so doing, he had duplicated the prices of a competitor or of a number of rivals that were in positions to share the traffic, would not, in the slightest degree, invalidate the Act referred to.

In what other way can those intrusted with the care of the properties be expected honestly to discharge their responsibilities than by issuing orders to their subordinates to adhere strictly to the duly published tariffs? It is true, no other requirement has been deemed essential heretofore; but it has not been faithfully enforced. Stress of circumstances, the machinations of shippers, and the credulity of solicitors invariably led to reprisals, until the business became unprofitable; and such was usually the result, notwithstanding the most sacred promises to prefer the candid avowal of an associate, although a competitor, to the representations of shippers whose advantage lay in promoting suspicion and disunion.

How, then, can the same end be accomplished, now that the only props, weak though they were, upon which the companies leaned, have been knocked away? It cannot be achieved in the old style; and the railroads are largely to blame for the hapless condition in which the law has left them. If the outcome should be the advent of an order of men who mean precisely what they say, who will intelligently instruct, and will insure that they are literally obeyed, then what has been viewed as a disaster may not prove altogether so.

Let the owners of the properties realize their predicament and the urgent necessity for reform. All they need do is, to elect directors who will actually *direct* and will coöperate with leading bankers of acknowledged reputation and courage. A few such firms would be sufficient to control wisely the operations of all companies comprised in Trunk Line and Central Traffic territory, with similar ma-

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chinery for the direction of affairs west of Chicago and St. Louis. The method would be for the bankers in question to acquire, by purchase, deposit, or, acting as trustees, sufficient securities of the companies described, to give them a controlling voice in their management. Each firm could delegate one of its members to devote the time necessary to discharge properly the duties confided to the board; and the latter could employ, as secretaries or agents, traffic experts who could intelligently and promptly report on all questions as they arose. Through those officers, advices could be communicated to the executives of each road, conformity with which would avert demoralization, insure economy in operations, confer benefits upon the community, accord fair compensation to employees, and assurance to thousands of patient and dependent ones, whose savings would thereby be protected. Under the circumstances mentioned, the wishes of the board referred to would have the force of law; and no railroad officer would be disposed to disregard them.

Still another plan originated in the fertile brain of the late Jay Gould. It was, in substance, to form a company which should lease the traffic, passenger or freight, of a number of railroads in a given territory—just as the express and sleeping-car business is conducted by separate corporations. It combined simplicity with practicability, and was at the same time the most comprehensive and alluring scheme that had been suggested for the rational conduct of competitive freight and passenger traffic. If it is competent to lease the carriage of passengers in chair- and sleeping-cars, or the transportation of high-class or perishable goods by express, it must be equally so to lease the carriage of passengers in ordinary coaches, and the transportation of freight of all descriptions, to corporations that will undertake to perform the services satisfactorily to the public on terms acceptable to the lessors. The original data outlining his plan were confided by Mr. Gould to the writer for elaboration. But such was the distress of certain companies at the time, that they had to have immediate relief; and recourse was had to a clearing-house scheme, which was known upon its formation as the Interstate Commerce Railway Association. This was superseded by the Western Traffic Association. But no such organization is now possible; whereas the ingenious methods of Mr. Gould are available and would seem to be opportune.

The third plan is one commonly called after its promoter, Mr. C. P. Huntington. It was brought forward simultaneously with

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the scheme presented by Mr. Gould. It consisted of a central company, the shares of which should be allotted in equitable proportions to the subsidiary corporations that would be merged therein. It would be practicable to start with any number of railroads operating in a given section; and, if a majority of those just described should deem it to their interest to unite, the economies that would be introduced, and the results likely to be achieved, would be such as to render it expedient for all others traversing the same territory to seek admission. Undoubtedly, greater obstacles would attend its inception, because of the difficulty of satisfying each company to be merged that it would be considerately treated in the allotments in the central company. Moreover, it would represent an aggregation of capital the colossal magnitude of which might provoke hostility at the outset. Yet, it is here presented as a practicable plan for the conservative operation of properties whose traffic affairs are now like a majestic ship afloat on a tempestuous sea, without rudder or compass, and with the sky overcast by day and by night.

Should it be urged that either of the three methods outlined would avoid the Anti-Trust Law, as interpreted by the Court, it may be sufficient to say, that no different result would follow the acquisition of the railroads by the Government. If the careful operation of railroads in the establishment of uniform, stable, and reasonable rates for fare and freight is to be prevented by arbitrary decrees, and remedial legislation shall continue to be withheld, then ought not the Government to acquire complete control of the properties by purchase? And, in such event, is it to be presumed that the Federal authorities would permit parallel lines to compete with each other regardless of cost or reason, or would those intrusted with their management be required to maintain strictly the tariffs which the Government would prescribe? Obviously, there would be no variation from the published schedules, under penalty of removal or worse punishment.

Does it, then, comport with the dignity of a great and conquering nation to do what no other country does, whether republic, limited monarchy, or despotism; namely, hamper and fetter the railroad corporations with unjust restrictions, withhold from them liberty of coöperation, deny them the right to agree to maintain rates which shall be reasonable, and at the same time decline to assume the responsibilities that must necessarily attach to ownership?

J. W. Midgley.

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WHY DUMAS' NOVELS LAST.

It happened that as a boy I did not even hear of Dumas. In the Massachusetts village where I lived we knew the New England poets and Tennyson; we read Scott and Cooper and Dickens and George Eliot; and ambitious boys firmly believed that there were untold literary treasures still awaiting them in various ancient and modern tongues. Of Victor Hugo we knew something, too; but nothing of Dumas. At school and at college also I can scarcely remember hearing the name mentioned among young men eager to know what was best in literature.

We were under the spell of Matthew Arnold's critical theories, and anxious to feed ourselves only on masterpieces whose permanent rank had been established beyond all peradventure. We were either students of the great classics—Dante, Shakespeare, and Goethe, for instance—or condescendingly attentive to the more distinguished authors of our own day; and, somehow, I got firmly fixed in my mind the doctrine that one's real enjoyment should be derived from the few great masters only, though it was perhaps human and pardonable sometimes to take a slight and passing interest in writers who were not quite the "best." Without ever having opened a volume of Dumas' work, therefore, I classed him with Bulwer Lytton as a trivial favorite of a bygone generation.

It was several years after I left college that, on a long railway journey, I wonderingly took up "Les Trois Mousquetaires," influenced largely by the chance remark of a sober-minded physician, who declared that it was about the only book he really cared to read. Surprised to find that the day had passed so quickly and happily, I made a point thereafter to provide myself under similar circumstances with a similar volume; and, thus led from book to book, I found, in the course of some years, not only that I had read the thirty-five volumes that make up Dumas' three great series of historical romances, but that I was quite prepared to read them anew with equal pleasure. On the whole, I find myself a better and a saner man for this reading. For the dispiriting hours of weariness or anxiety, at least, I

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can imagine no better companion than Dumas, unless it be an old friend with whom one may join in exercise that is both restful and stimulating. In literature, so far as my own feeling goes, he can be compared only with Scott, whom he imitated and surpassed, and with Sienkiewicz, who, in his great trilogy, in turn imitated and surpassed even Dumas.

I have a reason for relating these apparently unimportant personal details. It cannot conceivably make any difference to the public when or why I first read Dumas, or whether I have read him at all, unless my case is a typical one. And that, indeed, it is. I have also long been, it happens, a student of Dante, that most austere and difficult of poets. Friends knowing this are wont to ask me with irritating persistency how it is that one whose profession gives him an opportunity to ponder over what is "best" in literature should find anything like continued pleasure in re-reading novels like those of Dumas—mere tales for the people as they are. Can Dumas be seriously compared with Dante or Shakespeare? Is Dumas really worth while reading at all? And I, in turn, have asked myself, What is there about this author that makes men turn to him with relief from weightier matters than those with which my profession is concerned; men who are dealing always with life in its most essential aspects,—the merchant, the editor, the lawyer, the physician? How is it that, knowing life itself, they can turn so willingly to this rough and careless transcript of life by a mere improviser, as Dumas surely is? Is it merely the paltry pleasure of amusement that attracts us,—the pleasure given by contrast and romance? I think not; and I wish to show the probable reasons for the apparently permanent hold that Dumas has on thoughtful and active men.

Alexander Dumas the elder was born, of soldier blood, in the very height of Napoleonic conquest, in 1803, and died in 1870, just as the French dream of military supremacy drew toward its ill-fated close. From youth to old age he wrote incessantly, sometimes alone, oftener in collaboration, until the list of his published writings became positively enormous. A poor lad, and not learned, he had, like Shakespeare, a genius for the imaginative reconstruction of history; and it fell to his lot and to that of Victor Hugo, who was only a year older than he, to displace the dying classic traditions of the French stage and to introduce to Europe the historical play,—a species of dramatic production that, as the century comes to an end, is found to be still holding its own with considerable force.

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Neither Hugo nor Dumas could claim great originality of motive in this. Schiller's plays and Goethe's "Götz von Berlichingen" had preceded theirs; and the latter, though written in what was then a barbarous tongue, had helped to give Scott the cue for his extraordinary series of historical romances in prose and verse. And Scott pointed out the way to Hugo, who gave to the drama of the past a more sombre and tragic passion, and to Dumas, who, less Byronic in his temper, and with an inheritance of prowess and vigor that gave him more insight into the active life of other centuries, lent to the movement his more practical sense and cleverness.

A pupil of Scott and Schiller, Dumas was thus drawn into one of the greatest currents of interest in the literary world that have been felt during the century. For, if we have been zealous to comprehend the facts of the tangible world and their relation, we have also been passionate to understand the relations of past events, and, above all, to realize how they felt who, in earlier ages, stood in the forefront of the battles for civilization and freedom by which we have been so immeasurably the richer and the wiser. It has undoubtedly been, to a large extent, a century of exploration and organization; and our best minds have been and are being attracted by the joys of adventure and the gains that come from the logical mastery of the world of fact. But minds scarcely less keen and vigorous have constantly turned backward, adding to their sense of the present the imaginative realization of the past.

Besides making him widely known, Dumas' experience had two valuable results. In the first place, he had laid in a store of clever plots that were of great service to him when he came to write novels. Strange as it may seem, the value of his tales, as we shall see, does not lie primarily in the mere intrigue of his story. But it was of considerable advantage to him often to be released from the invention of the more outward elements of construction and to be left free to concentrate his attention upon other matters. In his novels he was frequently merely telling a story he had told before, under different circumstances. Hence came the sure hand, the prevision which he displays when it is least expected; hence the peculiar solidity and stability which his best work has, in spite of its rapid movement and its apparently loose construction. In the second place, he had learned, better than any man of his generation, to know what the public wanted. I do not mean this in any vulgar sense,—that he was necessarily disposed to truckle to the popular taste. To give us

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what we obviously want is the task of every hack-writer. It is the privilege of the genius so to know the temper of the people that he can go behind their obvious desires; acquainting them with themselves, defining their ideals when they cannot themselves define them, and analyzing their prejudices and prepossessions when they cannot themselves analyze them. It was in this way that Dumas knew his public; and it is not to be doubted that such knowledge was at that time to be gained in France only from the experience of the dramatist who had so learned the character of the people at large that he could at will touch the hidden springs of tears and laughter. So Defoe, turning from a long and parallel experience in political journalism, was enabled to estimate to a hair's breadth the essential elements of racial character which his great moral romance touched so skilfully.

Trained thus in the best school of his time, Dumas was enabled to produce at the prime of his life, in the space of a little more than a decade, three remarkable series of historical romances. The first, the "Musketeer" series, consists of "Les Trois Mousquetaires," "Vingt Ans Après," and "Le Vicomte de Bragelonne,"—noble volumes on perhaps the noblest theme of all, the unalterable affection of man for man. The second, the Valois cycle, consists of "La Reine Margot," "La Dame de Monsoreau," and "Les Quarante-cinq"—ending abruptly, as if the author intended to add still other volumes. The third and longest series, dealing with the Revolution, consists of "Joseph Balsamo," "Le Collier de la Reine," "Ange Pitou," and "La Comtesse de Charny." In these thirty-five compact little volumes is all that is best of Dumas' work. There are multitudes of other novels; but only at intervals do they show the same qualities. "Le Comte de Monte Cristo," the only possible exception, was, it cannot be denied, immensely popular, and still enthralls the young mind. But it appeals chiefly to the logical sense, to the intellect. It is merely a magnificently demonstrated problem of revenge. Brutal and hard in tone, it lacks the fine humanity that is so characteristic of Dumas' other works. Here, we might imagine, is the taint of barbaric lineage and savage blood, of which we find not a trace elsewhere.

These thirty-five volumes have flourished outside the academic pale of literature. It is not in them that the aspirant for learning chooses his petty subject of research. It is not in books of history and criticism that one must look to find their relations explained. They are rather masterpieces of that secondary form of literature of which

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the knowledge passes to and fro among the public at large, as a tale might pass from mouth to mouth ; winning the love of those who live, and owing naught to the fair words of critics.

They are not merely books for the young, though they remain, in spite of many imitators and competitors, the best tales of adventure extant ; nor books for the old alone, though there are few volumes that stand so well the inexorable test created by years of experience with men and affairs. They are read by all ages and all classes, though not, as a rule, by both sexes. Women rarely like Dumas. They cannot often understand the motives that actuate his characters ; they lack sympathy with the dominant spirit of adventure ; they miss perhaps the theme of love, which Dumas so seldom makes anything but subsidiary. But men find in him amusement, stimulus, and solace,—from the veriest homesick schoolboy, or jaded lawyer, to Thackeray, Stevenson, or Heine, who said that in the torments of his malady it was only by listening to the reading of Dumas' novels that he could forget his sufferings.

The second half of the nineteenth century has seen a great reaction against the literary ideals of the first half. Dumas, like Scott or Victor Hugo or Eugene Sue, belonged to the class of writers who preferred invention to observation. The eighteenth century had so pent in the hearts of men that it was with a thrill of joy that they embraced the opportunities offered by what was then a new form of literature. After the Napoleonic wars came the period of unrest and ferment, when life seemed again a thing of infinite possibilities, not yet taken account of by literature or philosophy, in which the artist's imagination could rove widely. The reaction came with Thackeray and Flaubert and Turgeneff and the schools they bred, who have felt it their duty to state the facts of life, restraining manfully mere fancy. And others, of whom George Eliot and Tolstoï may stand as types, go further still, endeavoring always to indicate the ethical bearing of these facts of observation.

It is no wonder that, as a result of this really praiseworthy movement, the critics look askance upon the intricate imaginings of an earlier age. The strong case against the historical romance has been often well stated of late. The indictment rests upon two grounds. First, the writers of romantic adventure in a perished century must necessarily be ignorant of the true facts of the time, and are likely wholly to misinterpret its spirit. Second, whether acquainted or not with the truth, they err in reviving ideals of brutal strife that civili-

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zation has done away with forever. They are thus doubly wrong; sinning against the truth of established history, and against the light of progress. To these charges against Dumas a third is sometimes added; viz., that he was rarely the legitimate author of his own works. It is alleged that he stole the fame of his collaborators and compilers; claiming the right to call his own, by virtue of wages paid,—or more often, it is said, left unpaid,—volumes of which the essence was produced by others.

To these grave charges the friend of Dumas may well reply as follows, taking them up in order. First, who shall say what is the truth regarding the feeling of a generation no longer living? Even the grizzled historians are in doubt. The evidence is contradictory, they say. The facts were perhaps thus and probably so. One thing only is clear; and that is, that the novelist is wisest when he aims at getting the spirit of the epoch he portrays. And how can this be done save by the free imagination, working on memoirs of the time as a basis? I would sooner trust the exceptional layman—Shakespeare or Dumas or Sienkiewicz—who has once caught the scent from contemporary documents than a whole wilderness of Teutonized annalists. And, granted that the layman goes wrong, and that Shakespeare's "Julius Cæsar" is as completely anachronistic as Scott's "Ivanhoe," who can be the worse? If the facts be false, we may still be the better for their imagined existence. All that the artist needs is his *pou sto*,—his preliminary suppositions; and there are few who will grudge Dumas his supposition that in the time of Brantôme or thereabouts men lived much as we may imagine after reading Brantôme, and that they felt pretty much as we can imagine them feeling.

Second, I find it impossible to admit that Dumas' ideals were low, unfit for common use. It is of honor that he tells most willingly—of man's honor and the constancy of men to men; of man's striving against the powers of the world by force and guile; of man's love of woman and the curb it puts on cowardice and sloth and selfishness; of man's strength and weakness; of a nation's slow progress onward and upward toward order and justice. Dumas was not an austere moralist, and his life was prodigal; but the reader will find on reflection that the ethical system revealed by his books is one which, the more we consider, the more we shall approve.

Third, Dumas was no vulgar compiler or mean plagiarist. Even if Homer were not Homer, the quality of the "Iliad" is not altered

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for us ; and whoever it was that wrote the thirty-five precious volumes I have mentioned may be as well called Dumas as another. But to Dumas were certainly due their essential virtues. Assistants elaborated his plots for him and drew him a fair brief,—such was his fashion, whether good or bad. But eye-witnesses inform us how trivial, after all, was this aid. Each tiny page of the assistant's notes became, under the master's hand, a broad sheet,—reconstructed, vivified, permeated by his humor and vigor, by his sympathy and wit and passion. It was, at worst, Rubens and his workshop over again. The purchaser had little to complain of in his best pictures ; for the conception and the color were his, if the drawing and the baser portions were not his sole handiwork.

Let us now turn from these general considerations to a more careful analysis of Dumas' power. What is it that endears him to us? The conventional answer would be—the exciting character of his plots. And his plots may well be called exciting. No other author —except Sienkiewicz, who learned the art from him—can match him there. He is better reading than Scott ; for there are, as a rule, no elaborate essays, no dull dialogues, no stupid characters, satisfactory only to the antiquary. The characters act and talk ; but they talk only to make the action more telling. The whole moves quietly, rapidly, but without unnecessary haste ; every scene is to be enjoyed as it passes ; and one is impressed throughout by the power that the author keeps in reserve for each of his climaxes. For it must be noticed that each of Dumas' novels reduces itself at once into a series of smaller tales (they are more like plays), each a hundred pages or so in length. In "Les Trois Mousquetaires," for instance, the main problem is this, How can four adventurers, by their combined force, outwit *The Cardinal* and all his powers, temporal and spiritual? This larger problem becomes a series of distinct, smaller problems ; viz., (1) How can a friendless and awkward but dashing young Gascon become in three days the talk of Paris and a sworn companion of the best three blades in the city? (2) *The Queen's* honor is at stake : how can this band of brothers fetch her jewels from England in time? (3) *D'Artagnan* is fascinated by *Milady :* how can his reckless passion be turned to hate and fear? (4) *Milady*, with good reason, is determined on *D'Artagnan's* death, and *Richelieu* on *Buckingham's* assassination : how can both catastrophes be averted? (5) *Milady* is a prisoner in England : how can she escape and murder *Buckingham?* (6) How can the brothers avenge their wrongs on

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Milady, and avoid the punishment of *The Cardinal*, whose agent she is?

The author takes up these episodes deliberately; and the reader soon recognizes in each the essential situation. How the problem can be solved he can scarcely imagine; but he feels sure that he has before him a set of brilliant scenes of increasing power. Once started on one of these sections, he is a brave man who can put the book aside until the author bids. Once at the end of a section, it is wiser to stop. The play is at an end; and its sequel should be reserved for another occasion.

But the exciting plot is not, of course, what is really worth while in Dumas' romances. Mere excitement we can get at any time from many sources,—from the detective story, for instance,—less artistically produced, but sufficient in quantity. The exciting plot, however, never alone gives permanence in literature; and Dumas' work must be better based than that if it is to survive. For my own part, I find one explanation of the deeper effect these volumes make on me in the fact that Dumas—recklessly as he apparently wrote, and in headlong haste—has somehow managed to build his characters out of genuinely human material. He seems to treat them like the veriest puppets; they wear their hearts on their sleeves; and yet neither the creations of Scott nor of Shakespeare are more truly alive. With women he was less successful; though *Marguerite*, the queen of folly, the gracious *Diane de Monsoreau*, and the proud *Comtesse de Charny* are wonderful types of womanhood. But his men are men. *D'Artagnan*, *Athos*, *Porthos*, and *Aramis*; *Chicot*, *Henri IV*, *La Mole*, *Coconnas*, *Bussy d'Amboise*; *Balsamo*, *Philippe de Taverney*, and *Gilbert*,—not to mention others,—these are as solidly and finely imagined as any characters in literature. How the author could have produced them we may never cease to wonder; but they do exist. He lived a foolish life; and he wrote in haste: but he wrote from his heart; and his heart was by nature clairvoyant. These characters appeal to us because they are implicit in the lives of us all, because they are the varied types of human ambition and endeavor; and this wide appeal assures their permanence. So the "Odyssey" lives, not because of the roll of its hexameter, but because millions of men, far wandering, made by fate to tarry for a time on enchanted isles, have pressed unceasingly forward, by force and guile, toward the longed-for day of their home-coming.

Dumas' characters, in the second place, are noble. His favorite

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theme is that of friendship, than which no theme could be more potent or exalted. From certain points of view, the family may be the root of the state. It is for his hearth that one oftenest toils or fights. But, from other points of view, the unselfish friendship of man for man, the voluntary coöperation, the subjection of desire and motive to a common good, is a greater and a purer force. As long as social ideals include this noble ideal of generous friendship, "Les Trois Mousquetaires" is not likely to find irresponsive readers; for no other book has surpassed it in the treatment of that theme. Nor, so far as I am concerned, is there any more poignant scene in literature than that in which, after twenty years of separation, the four who once were but a single will and a single force—hence, dauntless and invincible—found in the gloom of battle their swords clash on those of their peers and realized that they were arrayed against each other. How paltry beside this seem lovers' quarrels! And yet there is nothing of the mock-heroic in Dumas' treatment of the famous friendship. These were men of clay, prone to vice and error, redeemed only by their sense of the sacredness of the strongest human tie save that of family.

Third, though the times with which Dumas deals are not modern, the spirit in which his characters take the world is one that we emulate. France, in those days, was not overcrowded: her ways were not set; her professions were not conventional. A career was not impossible to any man of will and force. It was the America of to-day. Success, too, was not a matter of brute force. Strength alone could not win the fight. *Porthos* could wrench the bars from prison windows, strangle the jailers, and seize *Mazarin* himself as a hostage to make the peace of the party with *The Queen;* but it was *D'Artagnan's* wit that directed him. Dumas' characters are not the indecisive and pitiable creatures of the modern neo-romantic novel, but men of physical and intellectual activity, who gain the battle of life by their clear heads, their resolute will, their pluck and readiness and subtlety. We no longer win kingdoms by such means; but the spirit is that of modern life. Much of President Eliot's analysis of characteristic American virtues applies equally well to *D'Artagnan* and *Chicot;* and many a capitalist of our day has been but playing with other counters the old game of *Henri IV.*

Fourth, it is not to be understood that all Dumas' characters had vulgar motives of personal gain. *D'Artagnan* sought his own fortune at first; and so did many another. But life taught them other

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ideals. All had a touch of chivalry and, if not religion, then at least its best substitute—a keen sense of the ties of duty that bound them to the weak and the poor, to those that ruled them and to those whom they ruled. If they knew coöperation, they knew subordination also, or, at worst, learned it, as the stiff-necked *D'Artagnan* finally did. They were all gentlemen—if not by birth, as was *Athos*, then by bitter experience of folly and sin, as were *D'Artagnan* and *Gilbert*. And the prince of them all was *Athos*. I could have wished he were a little less disdainful of *Planchet*. But he was a gentleman of the older fashion ; and, though he claimed the privileges of his rank, he knew that he lived not alone for himself, but for the support of what he deemed noble and honorable. France then, like Italy, was little more than a name ; and he served the highest power he knew—the King. May we all in our other ways serve the commonwealth as loyally !

Fifth, these men grow, not of the author's set purpose, in the ordinary fashion, according to a rule of logic, but as men grow in life, naturally. He could not have planned it : at the proper time he simply knew it. The *Athos*, the *Porthos*, the *Aramis*, and the *D'Artagnan* of "Le Vicomte de Bragelonne" are not those of "Les Trois Mousquetaires," or even of "Vingt Ans Après." But the author does not inform us of it, except in a single case ; and then he is evidently as surprised as we are. They grow ; and, if they are honest men, they grow better, on stepping-stones of their own baser selves. *D'Artagnan* learns that there is a better guide than his own rebellious desire ; *Porthos* drops his braggart ways ; and, from a vicious boy, *Gilbert* becomes an honorable man. Apparently romantically unreal, Dumas' novels are realistic at bottom ; for they are founded on what is true in human life and in human character.

Finally, these novels show more than the growth of man. They represent the slow development of a race and a nation. Like Gibbon or Michelet, Dumas had a genius for history. France under Charles IX and Henry III, France under Louis XIV, France in the Revolution,—he knew them, and felt them to the core. His chronology may be weak and his facts faulty ; the young doctor of philosophy may find flaws in every chapter ; but the great laws he follows, so far as I can see : the types are sound.

How he could have performed such a feat Heaven only knows. He read memoirs avidly, for one thing ; he had a marvellous heritage of race that made other times akin to him ; submerged in his

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under-consciousness, out of reach of will or reason, were wondrous stores of association; his own life was rich and varied; his sympathy was extraordinary. On all these sources he drew, in that madly rapid writing of his. And the result is that in his pages, as in an allegory, are all the elements essential to the nation's life. Among a score of others, three are not to be forgotten: the violated *Comtesse de Charny*, who was the wrecked aristocracy; the brutal peasant boy *Gilbert*, who represented the uprising of men long down-trodden; and their child, who was the new France.

Such are the considerations, in my judgment, which raise Dumas above the horde of vulgar romancers. His fame, like his genius, is not academic, and the critics may praise him with only half a heart; but his great public will be none the worse. One who reads him will pass the word to another; and each who knows him will be a better man. Many a modern tale has taken its cue from him; and we bear with them because of the reminiscence. In the storm of words that make up "Cyrano de Bergerac," I feel for once a genuine interest when there enters for an instant a simple Gascon gentleman named *D'Artagnan*.

G. R. CARPENTER.

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